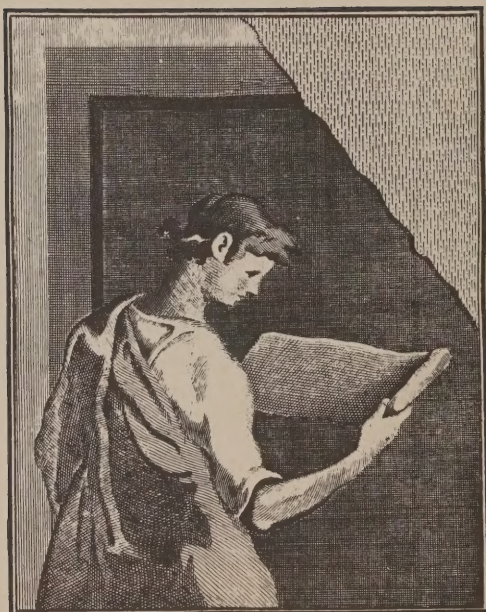








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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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JANUARY, 1916.

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## SOPHOCLES' *ELECTRA* 1074 SQQ.

πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει  
'Ηλέκτρα, τὸν αἰὲ πατρός  
δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὅπως  
ἅ πάνδυρτος ἀηδών κτέ.

As far as I know, Kaibel is the only champion of the soundness of our text in this passage. In his edition of the *Electra* he has the following note: 'Zu τὸν αἰὲ πατρός ist, wie Haupt gezeigt hat (Op. II. 301), der Nominalbegriff (wie στεναγμόν) aus dem Verbum zu ergänzen, genau wie in μίαν δικάζειν, διττὴν παῖσαι u. a. statt des Adjektivs steht das durch den Artikel gestützte Adverbium, vgl. Arist. *Ran.* 191 νευαυμάχηκε τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν und das sprichwörtliche τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς (δρόμον) τρέχειν. So ist auch der Komikervers (fr. adesp. 104 K) ganz in Ordnung ἐγὼ τὸν ἄλλον, ἄνδρες, ἐτεθνήκη πάλαι ἅπανθ', ὃν ἔζην, wo zu ἔζην und also auch zu ἐτεθνήκη sich ein Nominalbegriff wie βίον oder χρόνον von selbst ergänzt; denn auf ein bestimmtes Nomen kommt nichts an, da kein Grieche thatsächlich ein Nomen ergänzte, sondern den Begriff aus dem Verbum heraushörte.' He concludes: 'So unzweifelhaft richtig Haupts Erklärung ist, so pflegt man sie neuerdings doch wieder zu ignoriren oder zu verwerfen und die allerungläublichsten "Emendationen" zu bevorzugen.' With the latter part of his assertion I fully agree, and am prepared to throw all emendations that have been so far suggested overboard. But with due diffidence I beg to try my hand once more at emending this passage, as I firmly believe that Sophocles has not written it as handed down to us. τὸν αἰὲ . . . στενάχουσ' is intolerably weak. It is far more likely that we have here a case of the wrong division of words. In uncials we should have read: ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑΤΟΝ, which ought to have been transcribed 'Ηλέκτρ' ἅτον. I therefore read—

πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει  
'Ηλέκτρ' ἅτον αἰὲ πατρός  
δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὅπως  
ἅ πάνδυρτος ἀηδών, κτέ.

Jebb's translation would run : ' Electra, forsaken, braves the storm alone ; she bewails alway, hapless one, her father's fate *insatiably*, like the nightingale unwearied in lament.'

And this correction is admirably borne out by another passage in the same piece, a passage which is remarkable for its close similarity both in word and thought, viz., 121 sqq. :

ὦ παῖ, παῖ δυστανοτάτας  
 'Ηλέκτρα ματρός, τίν' αἰεὶ τάκεις ὧδ' ἀκόρεστον οἰμωγὰν  
 τὸν πάλαι ἐκ δολερᾶς ἀθεώτατα  
 ματρὸς ἀλόντ' ἀπάταις Ἀγαμέμνονα  
 κακᾶ τε χειρὶ πρόδοτον.

In this passage ἀκόρεστον reflects ἄτον as restored. In Homer we find ἀκόρεστος (ἀκόρητος) and ἄτος used as synonyms.

Cf. Apollon. *Lex.* 46, 1, ἄτος · ἀκόρεστος. It is therefore not surprising to find ἄτον in lyrics. I may note that this emendation gives more weight to Baunack's correction in the Delphian inscription, 2561 C., v. 32, *Sammlung der griech. Dialektinschriften*, Collitz-Bechtel, who proposes ἄτος 'satiety' for the unintelligible ἄγος :

τηνεῖ δ' ἐν ἄτος ἔστω (sc. ὀτοσύζειν).

In Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 848 (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) we may have to do with another wrong division of words. In the best MS. the paroxytone accent points to διδύμαι. It may be possible that the original letters were ΔΙΑΤΜΑΙΑΝΟΠΑΚΑΚΑ, which ought to have been transcribed, δίδυμ' αἰάν' ὅρα κακά. Scholars as a rule (Nauck, Kaibel) doubt the existence of an adjective αἰανός, which they consider to be a late formation from the adjective αἰανής. But we must note that Hesychius knew the neuter αἰανόν · χαλεπόν, αἰνόν. For fuller information I may refer to Schmidt's edition, p. 67, 65. Wilamowitz says : ' fuerit, puto, φανερά δὴ κακά.' But the change is too violent. The singular ὅρα I would explain with Wecklein as a dialogue between two choreutae. He says, 833-836 (847-860, Wilamowitz) : ' duo, ut uidetur, choreutae colloquantur.'

- A. διπλαῖν μερίμναι δίδυμ' αἰάν' ὅρα κακά.  
 B. αὐτοφύνα δίμορα τέλεα τάδε πάθη τί φῶ ;

I may now turn to another epic word used by Sophocles in lyrics. In the newly-discovered *Indagatores*, verses 71-2, we read :

προφῆνας  
 ἀρίζηλα χρυσοῦ παραδείγματα.

Münscher (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1914, p. 171) bases his interpretation of ἀρίζηλα on the Hesychian gloss :

ἄρι · μεγάλως. ὅθεν καὶ ἀρίζηλος ὁ μεγάλως ζηλωτός.



I grant that ἀρίζηλος may have occurred in this sense, but when we grasp the true meaning of another word that has to do with our interpreting ἀρίζηλα there can be no doubt that ἀρίζηλα has in this passage its usual meaning of 'glittering,' etc. The word I refer to is found in line 156:

χρυσόφαντον.

πλούτον δὲ χρυσόφαντον ἐξαφίετε.

We know that the πλούτος is of gold; cf. 45: χρυσὸν στέφε. We read of ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς πλούτος, Plat. *Legg.* 801 B. Gold is described as shining. We come to the conclusion that χρυσόφαντος is a compound adjective equivalent to two distinct epithets, χρυσοῦς and φαείνός. For further information I may refer to Jebb's edition, s.v.: 'Index ii. Matters, adj. compound = two distinct epithets.' Cf. *Ant.* 146: δικρατεῖς λόγχας = δύο and κρατοῦσαι.

We should expect to find in -φαντος a passive sense, but in χρυσόφαντος it is decidedly intransitive. In Aesch. *Theb.* 162 (ed. Wilamowitz) we have πολεμόκραντον as meaning 'finishing the war,' which would become more intelligible if somebody proposed to read ICAI for the tasteless KAI at the beginning of the line:

ἴσαι Διόθεν πολεμόκραντον ἄγνόν  
τέλος ἐν μάχαι· σύ τε μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ'  
"Οὔκα κτέ.

As so often happens in Homer in an even contest, Zeus brings decisive victory by throwing his power into the balance to tip the scales in favour of one party or the other.

In ν 93 we have the adjective φαάντατος. I would now with Ehrlich (*Die Epische Zerdehnung*, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1908, p. 109) take φαάντατος as the superlative of φαντός. When he wrote he was naturally still ignorant of the compound χρυσόφαντος. So too ἐφαάνθη need not be derived from ἐφαένθη, but rather from φαίνομαι ἐφάνθη. Van Leeuwen needlessly writes φαέντατος (*Enchiridion Dictionis Epicae*, p. 246, 14). Bechtel (*Lexilogus zu Homer*, p. 324) and Thumb (*Gr. Gr.*, p. 229, 1; 383, 1) derive it from φαέντατος.

I would further point out that Diehl's supplement of line 2 of the *Indagatores*, καὶ δῶρα χρυσόφανθ' cannot be right, as the meaning of χρυσόφαντος at the beginning of the piece would be obscure.

In the *Indagatores*, Col. V. 1 (v. 107) the editors read:

ροίβδημ' εἰάν τις τῶν [βοῶν δ]ι' οὖς [λάβη.

Diehl remarks: δι' οὖς si recte singulariter dictum. expectaveris δι' ὠτός uel δι' ὠτων.' The words supplied are not Greek, and we have to try something else. I take τις as referring to the cattle, of which τῶν βοῶν is the partitive genitive. In prose we would expect to find the order, τῶν τις βοῶν. But in Ellendt's lexicon we find other examples of the indef. pronoun before the partitive genitive. The three letters οὖς with the circumflex must therefore point to the fem. nom. sing. of a verb in -έω—e.g., κί]ροῦς'. The verb

lost at the end can be only ἀλφ̣. With this supplement we see that in the preceding line we can confidently accept Roberts' conjecture ἡισθημένος.

So the sentence runs :

ἡισθη]μένος  
 ροίβδημ' εἰάν τις [τῶν βοῶν κι]νοῦσ' [ἀλφ̣.

*Indagatores*, Col. III. 11 (v. 64) read διανύτων ὁ[δόν. It is not the acute, but the rough breathing that must be read over the ο. Cf. *Pap. Ox.* 22, *Oed. Tyr.* 375, where the rough breathing over the ο in ὅστις is practically the same as the acute.

In v. 117 translate τὸν βοηλάτην by 'cattle-lifter' rather than by 'cow-herd.' Cf. *Il.* XI. 671.

In Col. VI. 21 (v. 153) read ἀπορρυπαίνεται, as we gather from the context and the formation of ἀποθυμαίνεις (v. 122), in which cases the preposition strengthens the meaning of the simple verb. For the composition of ἀπορρυπαίνω compare that of ἀπολαμπρύνω (*Hdt.* i. 41).

In Col. XII. 14 (v. 303) the papyrus has :

[. . . . .] λο[. . .]ορεινη συγγονος τωστρακρεων.

The last word is corrupt. Wilamowitz thinks that it is a mixture of ὀστράκων and ὀστρέων.

Theon has the variant συγγόνους ὀστρα[. Why does he lengthen the last syllable by writing συγγόνους? Is the explanation not to be sought in the fact that he too had in his copy τωστρακρέων, and as a grammarian he saw that this could not be right? To my mind it is clear that he dropped the article, and consequently had a word of four syllables following συγγόνους.

What further change the sentence underwent under his hands we are at a loss to say. Is συγγονους acc. plural, or are we to take it from a verb, συγγονέω? Our scribe therefore could not have made this mistake. In that case we should have expected to read one syllable too many : τῶν ὀστρακρέων. This difficulty seems to me to be insurmountable.

I would therefore suggest that the ν at the end was added by some Egyptian, to whom as a rule this nasal sound had hardly any value. Instances of this we find scattered broadcast through the papyri. Cf. Mayser, *Gr. Griech. Pap.*, pp. 191 sq. I would suggest that Sophocles wrote τωστρακρεφ —i.e. τῷ ὀστρακρέφ, a nickname for the κεράστης κάνθαρος. I do not consider κεράστης as 'simply an added extravagance.' Any entomologist of repute will tell you that the *Oryctes Nasicornis* is meant. It is found in Sicily, and the male has a horn of considerable size on its nose, so much so that it can carry the female by means of it. We may specially note that in size it becomes *one of the largest of known insects*.

As regards the formation of the word ὀστρακρεος, I do not think it offers any serious difficulty. It is compounded of ὀστρε+ακρεος. ε+α before ρ in Attic contracts to α, not η, as in Ionic. We find the form ἄκρεα for ἀκραῖα



attested by the MSS. of Hippocrates. For the shortening of  $\alpha i > \epsilon$  we may compare *ποτειδεαται* from *ποτειδαιαι*. This question is treated of by Dindorf in the *Thes.* s.v. *παλαιός*. We may now add Timoth. *Pers.* 90, *παλεομίσσημα*, and verses 21 and 120, *παλεά* and *παλεονυμφαγόνος*.

In Aeschylus too we find an example of  $\alpha i > \epsilon$ —viz. *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 239, *ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον ἄμα λίγα*.

Here *ποταίνιον* responds to *διὰ θεῶν*, line 233. We have to scan *ποτάνιον* — — — — rather than *ποταίνιον*, with synizesis of the  $\iota$  —  $\approx$  —, as done by Tucker. For the unintelligible "AMMIGA of M I read "AMALÍGA, as required by sense and metre.

With respect to the similarity between the *χελώνη* and the *κάνθαρος*, we may note the Hesychian gloss: *χελωνίας · ἡ ποικίλη κανθαρίς*.

In the preceding line the question was put :

τ[ί δ' αὖ τὸ] φωνοῦν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦντὸς ἡ τοῦξω, φράσσον.

The answer must relate to the concavity of the tortoise-shell turned upside down. The fem. *ὀρεινή* points to the animal endowed with the voice. In the first lacuna of nine letters I would therefore restore [*ἡ φωνήεσσα*]. For the second lacuna I would suggest *λο[ρδῆ]*, assuming a synizesis of the  $\eta$  before the  $o$  of *ὀρεινή*. Suidas has :

λορδότατον τὸ ἀποσεσιμωμένον καὶ ἐναντίον τῷ κυρτῷ.

The synizesis of  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$  before  $o$  in Greek is frequent, and may be expected in a Satyric play. In fact, it is very much in point here, as the true poet by this irregularity portrays the awkwardness of the tortoise turned upside down.

This line would therefore run :

[*ἡ φωνήεσσα*] *λο[ρδῆ]* *ὀρεινή σύγγονος τῷστρακρέφ*.

As regards the synizesis of the vowels  $\eta$ ,  $\epsilon$  before  $o$ , I may refer to August Scheindler, *Metrische Studien zu Sophokles; Die Synizese und Aphaerese, Serta Harteliana*, pp. 14 sqq.

In the *Indagatores*, v. 9, the papyrus has *ἐ]γώνκ*, which points to Scheindler's view that we must write *ἐγώνκ* and *ἐγώυτ* in Sophocles. See pp. 19 and 20 op. l.

I may give another new case of the synizesis of  $\epsilon$  before  $o$ .

In Satyrus's *Life of Euripides*, *Pap. Ox.* 1176, fr. 38, Col. I. 16 sqq. we read :

τίς [ . . . ] ὁθεός [κ]αὶ [πα]ραδαίμων  
[ὁς] τάδε λείσ[σώ]ν οὐ προδι[δ]άσκει  
ψυχὴν [α]ὐτοῦ Θεὸν ἢ[γεῖ]σθαι κτέ.

With Koerte (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI. 1913, p. 249) I hold that the editor's emendation *βαρυνδαίμων* for *παραδαίμων* is weak. He rightly points out that *παραδαίμων* is formed like *παράμουςος*.

Wilamowitz suggests τίς [δ' ᾧδ] ἄθεος; but Hunt assures us that ἄθεος did not stand in the papyrus. He admits that the adverb ᾧδ' is required, as seen by Wilamowitz. So the conjecture of Diehls and Murray, ἀτιμόθεος, is ruled out of court. What the poet wrote was :

τίς δ' ᾧδ' ἀπόθεος καὶ παραιδαίμων κτέ.

But Satyros for the purpose of his citation does not require the conjunction δέ. The papyrus only had τίς [ᾧδ ἀπ]όθεος κτέ. To get the anapaestic metre we have to scan ἀπόθεος — — —. For the synizesis of θεος I may refer to Porson's note to Eur. Or. 399.

Koerte compares παραδαίμων with παράμους. We may now add : ἀπόμους : ἀπόθεος as ἄμους : ἄθεος. Hesychius has the gloss : ἀπόθεα · ἐκτὸς θεῶν Σοφοκλῆς Θυέστη. In Aesch. Prom. 20 we have the adj. ἀπάνθρωπος. We now see more clearly that the prepositions ἀπό and παρά in these compounds give the required sense.

With respect to the nickname ὀστράκρεος for the beetle, I may note that the tortoise is called φερέοικος. Etym. M. : φερέοικος · ὁ κοχλίας καὶ ἡ χελώνη. Now in line 307 of the *Indagatores* we read :

δέρμα κ[.]στ[.]

Wilamowitz suggests δέρμα κ[ῶ]στρ[ακον; δέρμα would then refer to the cow-hide. But δέρμα may as well stand for the tortoise-shell. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesphae*, 429, 1292. And as we require two letters before the στ it is clear that καὶ, and not κω, must be read. Sophocles may therefore have written something like :

δέρμα κ[αὶ] στέ[γος φέρει  
( ' He carries his shell and hut ' ).

The editor assures us that more stood in the papyrus than is supplied by Wilamowitz. And this space is taken up by φέρει.

In line 311 I would read κοι]λάδος from κοιλάς as referring to the hollow of the shell rather than κέλαδος with Schenkl, who ignores the paroxytone in the papyrus.



## THE LAST SIBYLLINE ORACLE OF ALEXANDRIA.

(*Oracula Sibyllina* XIV. 284-361.)

(*Continued from Vol. IX., p. 228.*)

- 351 οὐκέτι γὰρ δόλιος χρυσὸς οὐδ' ἄργυρος ἔσται,  
οὐ κτίσις γαίης, οὐ δουλείη πολύμοχθος,  
ἀλλὰ μίῃ φιλότης τε καὶ εἷς τρόπος εὖφρονι δῆμῳ,  
κοινὰ δὲ πάντ' ἔσται καὶ φῶς ἴσον ἐν βιότοιο.
- 355 ἐν γαίῃ κακίῃ καταδύσεται εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.  
καὶ τότε δ' ἐγγὺς ἦεν τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.  
ταῦτα τελεσθῆναι κρατερῇ ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη.  
οὐ λέξει τότε τις μεμνημένος ἁλὸς ὀδίτης  
ὥς δὴ ῥα ποτ' ἀμπαύσει μερόπων γένος ὀλλυμένων περ.
- 360 καὶ τότε δ' ἀγνὸν ἔθνος ἀπάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσῃ  
εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας ἄμ' ἰφθίμοισι τοκεῦσιν.

(352 οὐ κτίσις MVH: οὐκ τίσις Q.—357 ἐπικείσεται M: ἐπικείσεται QVH.)

351: As the abolition of gold cannot directly cause the restoration of a ruined city, the word γὰρ must be taken as referring back to l. 348: 'Enemies will make peace; for gold, the cause of quarrels, will be abolished.' But the awkwardness of the connexion suggests a suspicion that the passage has been in some way altered or rearranged.

For the notion of 'opes irritamenta malorum,' see VIII. 17-36: III. 235-6 and 640-2: II. 111-8 (in the *Phocylidea*). For the wording of l. 351, cf. VIII. 18, χρύσου γὰρ δολίοιο καὶ ἀργυρίου πόθος ἔσται: II. 114, χρυσὸς ἀεὶ δόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἄργυρος ἀνθρώποισιν.

352: for κτίσις read κτήσις (Mai). All private property, whether in money, land, or slaves, will be abolished; and so, the cause of hate being removed, men will be united in brotherly love.

354: for φῶς ἴσον ἐν βιότοιο read φῶς ἴσον ἐν β. (Gutschmid): 'there shall be one glad life for all alike to share.' (Or, φῶς ἴσον βιότοιο.)

For the economic communism of ll. 351-4, cf. VIII. 28 sq.

For the prophecy of universal peace and love, cf. (*inter alia*) III. 367-380.

355: for ἐν γαίῃ read ἐκ γαίης (Mai).

356: τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. A 'harvest of mankind' is spoken of elsewhere in various senses. Sometimes it means a general destruction of the human race, or, at least, of the Gentiles: cf. Joel 3. 12. Apoc. Joh. 14. 15: Πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ θέρισον, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς. . . . καὶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ. And this reaping is followed by a corresponding vintage, in which the grapes are cast into 'the great wine-press of the wrath of God.' In that passage the corn is mankind in general, and the reaping signifies destruction.

Matt. 13. 24-30 and 37-43 is partly similar: there also, ὁ θερισμὸς συντέλεια αἰώνος ἐστίν, οἱ δὲ θερισταὶ ἄγγελοί εἰσιν: but it is the tares alone that are to be destroyed; the main work of the harvest is the ingathering of the wheat, and the wheat here symbolizes 'the sons of the Kingdom.' In Mark 4. 26-29 (a different recension of the same parable), the wheat alone is spoken of, without mention of tares; the growth of the corn signifies the gradual development of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the harvest its final realization; and no destruction, even of the wicked, is suggested. In Mark, then, the simile of 'harvest' is seen in process of transition to the sense of Matt. 9. 37 (cf. Luke 10. 2: John 4. 35-8), ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι. See also the parable of the fig-tree in Luke 21. 29-31: γινώσκετε ὅτι ἤδη ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν. . . . γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἐστίν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. Thus the passages in the Gospels agree in making 'the harvest' signify the consummation of the Kingdom of God, though the application varies.

But the Jewish Sibyllist cannot, in speaking of 'the reaping of mankind,' have intended a reference to the Kingdom of God as represented in the Gospels; and τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων in l. 356 should rather bear the same sense as the *τρυνγητός* of Joel and the *θερισμός* of Apoc. Joh.: that is, the words, if written by a Jew, ought to signify the destruction of mankind (with the exception, perhaps, of the Chosen People).<sup>1</sup> But if so, the line is clearly out of place; for a general destruction could not be spoken of as following on the ideal peace and happiness depicted in the preceding lines. Moreover, even admitting, for the sake of argument, that τὸ θέρος could here signify a *happy* consummation, it would still be inappropriate to speak of it in this connexion as only *near at hand*, and not already attained. Consequently, l. 356 must be bracketed as an interpolation.

If it originally formed part of the passage at all, it must have stood next after l. 359; for in that line destruction is spoken of in a connexion appropriate to the context, viz. as a thing *no longer to be feared*. It might be possible, with some textual alteration, to make l. 356 fit in at that point; but even there it would be superfluous; so that it seems better to omit it altogether. It may perhaps have been inserted by a Christian reviser, who felt that a description of the ideal future was incomplete without some reference to the Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Is there a suggestion of the same metaphorical sense of θέρος or θερισμός, viz. *destruction*, in V. 300, ἀντὶ δὲ χειμῶνος θέρος ἔσσεται? See l. 299 above.



of God, and who had in mind the words of Luke 21. 30, ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the word ἦεν in l. 356 requires correction. It would be easy to write ἔην (Alexandre): but in a prophecy the imperfect tense is hardly possible. It therefore seems better to substitute ἔφν (Rzach), the word used in II. 164.

357: cf. III. 572, πάντα τελεσθῆναι κρατερῇ [δ'] ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη.

358: οὐ λέξει τότε τις: Cf. VIII. 424, κοῦκέτι λοιπὸν ἐρ<ε>ῖς λυπούμενος 'αὔριον ἔσται.' II. 325, κοῦκετ' ἐρεῖ τις ὅλως 'νὺξ ἦλ<υ>θεν,' οὐδὲ μὲν 'αὔριον.' μεμνημένος ἁλὸς ὁδίτης. Alexandre corrected ἁλὸς into ἄλλος: and for μεμνημένος, Rzach conjectures συμβλήμενος, comparing Hom. *Od.* 11. 127, ὀππότε κεν δὴ τοι ξυμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης | φήη ἀθηρηλοιγὸν ἔχειν. But as there is here no τοι ('you') to give a meaning to ἄλλος, it is better to read συμβλήμενος ἄλλω ὁδίτης. Such is the present dismay, that the words 'Mankind is like to perish from the earth' are the first that rise to the lips when strangers meet. In the happy future, such words will be no longer heard.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase occurs also in II. 158-164 (probably a Jewish oracle christianized):

αἰ, ὁπόσων παῖδες χῶραις ἐνὶ θοιήσονται  
οἰκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι γονέας ἐν φάρεσι σάρκας  
160 ἐνθόντες θάψουσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ μητέρι λαῶν  
αἵμασι καὶ κινήσι πεφυρμένοι· ὦ μέγα δειλοί  
ὑστατὴς γενεῆς φῶτες κακοεργέες αἰνοί  
νήπιοι οὐδὲ νοοῦντες ὁθ', ἡνίκα φύλα γυναικῶν  
μὴ τίκτωσιν, ἔφν τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

(158 χῶρης FR: χῶρις L: χῶραις the other MSS.—160 ἐνθόντες Ψ: σὺν μέλεσιν Φ.—161 πεφυρμένοι Ψ: πεφυραμένοι Φ.—163 ὁθ', ἡνίκα Ψ: δ νικᾷ Φ.)

The meaning of τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων in the last line of that passage can hardly be determined until that of the preceding lines has been ascertained; and they are unmeaning until corrected. The passage appears from the context to be eschatological, and to describe calamities preceding the final consummation. I would propose to read: 158 αἰ, ὁπόσων <δὴ> παῖδες ἄωροι ἀποικήσονται. | οἰκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι γονέες κ.τ.λ. The precise words of l. 158 may be doubtful; but something like this must have been the sense intended. Ll. 158-161 are in fact an expansion of the words πενθήματα, δάκρυα πολλά, which immediately precede, in l. 157. One of the signs of the approaching end will be the untimely death of children, and the universal mourning of the parents. The words αἵμασι καὶ κινήσι πεφυρμένοι must be taken as describing mourners, who δρύπτονται τὰς παρειάς, and cast dust upon their heads.

The Sibyl then proceeds: 'Oh wretched men of the last age of the world, and horrible in their ill-doing; fools, who know not that, when the race of women ceases from child-birth, then is the harvest of mankind.' What is the con-

nexion of thought? The words ἡνίκα φύλα γυναικῶν μὴ τίκτωσιν recall the dialogue in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, quoted by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 6. 45: 9. 63-66) εἶπεν ὁ σῶτηρ, Ἠλθον καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. . . ἡ Σαλώμη φησί, Μέχρι τίνος οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθαρσύνονται; . . ἀποκρίνεται ὁ κύριος, Μέχρις ἂν τίκτωσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. (Ib. 13. 92) πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος, Ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδύμα πατήσητε, καὶ ὅταν γέννηται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ. The abolition of τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας is there regarded, not as portending the destruction of mankind, but as an element in the realization of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the meaning seems to be similar to that of Luke 20. 35 (Matt. 22. 30, Mark 12. 25): οἱ δὲ καταξιώθentes τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν.

The obscure lines II. 161-4 become intelligible if taken in a similar sense. The writer of these lines is a Christian, with a strong conviction of the superior sanctity of the celibate or monastic life. The preceding description of parents mourning over their dead children suggests to him the thought 'their misery is the result of their own sinful folly; if child-birth ceased, there would be no mourning for the death of children. If men would but put away from among them τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας, the Kingdom of Heaven would be attained.' Thus understood, the words τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων in II. 164 bear the same sense as in the interpolated line XIV. 356; that is, the 'harvest,' in both places alike, signifies a happy consummation, as in the canonical Gospels; and the interpolator of XIV. 356 may have had II. 164 in mind, as well as Luke 21. 30.

359 : for *ὡς δὴ ῥα* read *ὥς ῥα* (Mai).

*ἀμπαύσει* may be intransitive, 'the human race will cease to be'; or it may be transitive, with 'God' understood as subject.

*ὀλλυμένων περ* : the *περ* is not adversative, but merely adds emphasis.

For the thought 'Mankind is like to perish,' cf.

V. 474-5, *εἴθ' οὕτως ὀλιγηπελίη ἔσται κατὰ γαῖαν,  
ὥστε νοεῖν ἀνδρῶν τ' ἀριθμὸν μέτρον τε γυναικῶν.*

(I.e. the survivors will be *εὐαρίθμητοι*—few and far between.)

II. 25 : *λεῖψις δ' ἀνθρώπων ἔσται κατὰ κόσμον ἅπαντα,  
ὥς, ἔχνος εἰ κατίδῃ τις ἐπὶ χθονί, θαυμάσσειεν,  
ἀνθρώπου.*

IV. Esdras 16. 22-34 : 'Erit . . . in locis magna desertio; cupiet enim homo hominem uidere.'

The writer deliberately rejects the gloomy eschatology of some earlier Sibyllists; his ideal is to be realized on earth, through the abolition of the social and economic causes of sin and misery; and on the way to its attainment, no sweeping destruction of the present world—no scene of 'earthquake and eclipse'—is interposed.

360-1 : the Jews shall rule the world. The lines are partly copied from

III. 49 sq. : *ἦξει δ' ἀγνὸς ἀναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων  
εἰς αἰῶνας <ᾶ>παντας ἐπειγομένοιο χρόνοιο :*

and VIII. 169 sq. : *καὶ τότε <δ'> ἀγνὸς ἀναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσει  
εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας, ἀποφθιμένους ἀνεγείρας.*

Cf. also VIII. 133-6.

Our Sibyllist substitutes for the reign of the Messiah a reign of the Chosen People, presided over by the Patriarchs.

360 : for *ἀπάσης* read *πάσης* (Alexandre).

*ἀγνὸν ἔθνος* : the Jews or Hebrews are more frequently denoted in the Sibyllines by the term *εὐσεβέες*, which has the double recommendation of beginning with the same initial as *Ἑβραῖοι*, and being metrically interchangeable with it. Cf. V. 281, where the Sibylline MSS. give *Ἑβραίων . . . χθῶν ἁγία*, but Lactantius has preserved the earlier reading *εὐσεβέων . . . ἁγία χθῶν*. III. 213, *ἀνδράσιν εὐσεβέσιν ἦξει κακόν, οἱ περὶ ναδὸν | οἰκείουσι μέγαν Σολομώνιον*. III. 573, *εὐσεβέων ἀνδρῶν ἱερὸν γένος*. III. 769, *ἅγιον νόμον ὃς ποτ' ἔδωκεν εὐσεβέσιν*. IV. 136, *εὐσεβέων ὅτι φῦλον ἀναίτιον ἐξολέσουσιν*. II. 28, *ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων*. XI. 24, *κατ' εὐσεβέων ἀνθρώπων*, of the Hebrews oppressed by Pharaoh. XII. 99 (V. 36), *εὐσεβέων ἦξει ὀλέτης μέγας ἀνδρῶν*, of Vespasian. In V. 384, *λαὸς σόφος* is used to denote the Jews; and in V. 149, *ἔθνος ἀληθές*. For *ἀγνὸν ἔθνος* in the same sense, cf. III. 266 (of the Babylonian captivity), *ἐπεὶ σοι μοῖρα λιπεῖν πέδον ἀγνὸν ὑπάρχει*. See also the ideal description of the Jewish nation in III. 584-599, *αἰέρουσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας*



ἀγνάς . . . ἀεὶ χροὰ ἀγνίζοντες ὕδατι . . . κοῦδὲ πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παῖδας μίνυνται ἀνάγνως, ὅσσα τε . . . ἄλλων ἔθνεα πολλά . . . θεοῦ ἀγνὸν νόμον ἔδον† (read νόμιμον?) παρέβησαν. III. 695, πάντες ἀναγνοὶ (=the Gentiles), followed by υἱοὶ δ' αὖ μέγαλοιο θεοῦ (=the Jews).

361: ἄμ' ἰφθίμοισι τοκεῦσιν. The reappearance of the Patriarchs among the living, which is implied in these words, is the only supernatural element in the piece. A reign of *prophets* is predicted in III. 581 sqq., ὄλβιοι οἰκήσουσι πόλεις καὶ πύργους ἄγρους, | αὐτοὶ δ' ὑψωθέντες ὑπ' ἀθανάτοιο προφήται. III. 781 sq.: ῥομφαίαν δ' ἀφελούσι θεοῦ μέγαλοιο προφήται· | αὐτοὶ γὰρ κριταὶ εἰσι βροτῶν βασιλεῖς τε δίκαιοι. Those passages, however, do not necessarily imply a resurrection of the prophets of old. Cf. also II. 245 sqq. (probably a Jewish oracle christianized): at the Last Judgment, first shall come Christ with the angels; then, ἥξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο | σάρκας δυσάμενος· Ἀβραὰμ δ' αὐτὸς μέγας ἥξει, | Ἰσαὰκ ἡδ' Ἰακώβ, Ἰησοῦς Δανιήλ τ', Ἡλίας, | Ἀμβρακὸν καὶ Ἰωνᾶς, καὶ οὓς ἔκταν Ἑβραῖοι. But a closer parallel is to be found in *Test. XII. Patriarch.*, *Judah* 25.

Matt. 19. 28, 'Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel,' implies the existence of a current belief that *some* persons—probably the patriarchs—will thus sit in judgment. Cf. also Apoc. Joh. 20. 4, εἶδον θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, without expressed subject.

In the 'Conjectural Text' which follows, the piece is printed with the corrections here proposed. It would be too much to hope that the exact words of the original have been recovered; but it can hardly be doubted that the general meaning is that which the text, when thus corrected, expresses. And if so, the series of events spoken of corresponds to the history of the Persian and Arab conquests of Egypt with a precision far too exact to be merely accidental. We must conclude that the verses referring to the Arab conquest at least (ll. 312-347) were composed immediately after the last incident in that conquest, i.e. in 646 or 647 A.D.; and that those which speak of the Persian conquest (ll. 284-311) were composed either at the same time, or more probably, some twenty-five years earlier (say 621 A.D.), when it seemed likely that Chosroes would complete the subjection of the Roman power, and establish a permanent dominion. In style, tone, and attitude, the Persian and Arab portions are indistinguishable; so that there is nothing against the supposition that it was the same writer who first expressed in Sibylline verses his exultation at the defeat of Rome by the Persians, and at a later time, when his hopes had been disappointed by the overthrow of Chosroes, added another passage embodying the similar feelings called forth by the more decisive victories of the Arabs. That writer (or the writer of each portion, supposing them to be by different hands) was an Alexandrian Jew, who lived through, and no doubt witnessed with his own eyes, the events of which he speaks.

The editors of the Sibylline Oracles, in dealing with Book XIV., have handled with repugnance what they considered little better than a mass of rubbish; and the section which we have been examining has met with little notice. But it turns out, when its application is once recognized, to be worth more attention than it has hitherto received. It has incurred contempt, partly through its association with a dreary catalogue of unknown emperors, and partly in consequence of the corrupt state of the text. Even from the point of view of literary criticism, unmitigated contempt is hardly merited: the diction and rhythm, it is true, are far from Homeric, but vigorous phrases and effective touches are not wholly wanting. But it is not as a product of literary art, but rather as a historical document, that these verses invite notice. It is something to have before us, even in this brief and allusive form, the evidence of an eye-witness as to the events of a critical epoch in the history of the Roman world. But it is in the revelation of the thoughts and feelings of one concerned in those events that the chief interest lies; for the traditional forms of the Sibylline style have here been employed as the vehicle for an utterance of genuine passion—an outburst of bitter rancour and malignant glee. ‘If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?’ It is the voice of Shylock that speaks from behind the mask of the Pagan prophetess. Yet it is Shylock with a difference; for this denizen of the Alexandrian Ghetto, mocked at and tormented by his Christian neighbours, and brutally maltreated by his Christian rulers, still cherishes in his heart a spark of the old prophetic fire, and looks forward with unshaken faith to a happy time to come, when gold shall have lost its power to rouse men’s evil passions, and when greed and hate shall be no more.

#### CONJECTURAL TEXT OF XIV. 284-361.

Letters and words conjecturally omitted are enclosed by two-angled brackets [ ].

Letters and words conjecturally inserted are enclosed by one-angled brackets < >.

Letters conjecturally substituted (not always in precisely equal number) for those given in the MSS. are printed in distinct type.

Words conjecturally transposed are underlined>.

Lines conjecturally transposed are marked by numbers printed in distinct type.

Ἔστι δέ τις γαίη, φίλη τροφὸς ἀνθρώποισιν,  
 285 κειμένη ἐν πεδίῳ· περὶ δ’ αὐτὴν Νείλος ὀρίζει,  
 πᾶσαν ἔπουρίζων† Λιβύην ἢ δ’ Αἰθιοπίαν.  
 κύριοι ἀρπάζουσιν ἐφήμεροι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος  
 παρθένον ἱμερτ[ε]ρήν· τῆς δὲ κτήτωρ μέγας<sup>1</sup> ἔσται  
 κεδνὸς ἄναξ, βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, κακὰ φώρεσι πέμπων,

<sup>1</sup> μέγας is awkward, and can hardly be defended. Perhaps it would be better to write <ταύ>της δ’ ἐκτημένος ἔσται: Chosroes ‘shall be her owner.’ (I am indebted to Dr. H. Bradley

for this suggestion.) There is good authority for the use of *κεκτημένος* as a substantive; and *ἐκτημένος* might very well be used in the same way.



- 290 καὶ δεινὸν φρονέων ἐπὶ δεινότατον παραβᾶσιν  
 Ἰταλῆς πα<ι>σιν, μεγαλοφρονέουσιν ἄρωγός  
 καρτερός· ἦνικα δ' Ἀσσυρίης ἐπὶ οἶνοπα ποντοῦ  
 ἔλθῃ, καὶ Φοίνικας ἐοῖς οἴκοις [δ'] ἀλαπάξῃ,  
 δυσάμενος πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν,  
 295 τῶν δύο κοιρανιῶν γαίης εἰς κοίρανος ἔσται.  
 296 νῦν δὲ τέλος πολύμοχθον Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αἰείσω.  
 305 αἶμα πολὺν ῥεύσει τότε βάρβαρον ἐν κονίῃσιν,  
 306 ξείνοις ἀξείνοισιν ὅταν πόλις ἐξαλαπαχθῇ·  
 307 ὄλβιος ὃς τέθνηκε, καὶ ὄλβιος ὅστις ἄτεκνος.  
 297 οἱ δ' ἱερὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπήμαν[α]τον ἀσάλευτοι  
 298 βάρβαροι οἰκήσουσιν. ὅταν θεόθεν φθόνος ἔλθῃ,  
 299 χεῖμα θέρος ποιῶν, τότε θέσφατα πάντα τελεῖται·  
 301 [†κᾶν μὲν δὴ φράζωσι θεόκλυτα θέσφατα λέξῃ†]  
 303 τρὶς Ῥώμῃ Ὑψιστος ἄγει μοίρην τότε δεινὴν.  
 300 ἀλλ' ὁπότεν τρ[εῖς] Πέρσαι Ὀλύμπια νικῆσωσιν,  
 304 οὗ γ' ἂν ἔ' ἐνθα λέων, δόρυ μακρὸν [ἐπὶ] πᾶσι τανύσ<σ>ας,  
 302 αἶματι τετράποδος γαλαθηνοῦ χρώτα καθήρῃ·  
 308 δὴ τότε γὰρ δούλειον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσει  
 309 ὃς πρὶν ἐλευθερίοισιν ἐπώνυμον ἡγεμόνησεν,  
 310 βουλὰς ἔμπροσθεν μέγ' αἰοίδιμον αὐτὸς ἐλίσσων·  
 τοίην δουλὸσύνην θήσει πολύδρις ἀνάκτωρ.  
 καὶ τότε δ' ἐκ Κιλικῶν στρατὸς αὐτίκα δύσμορος ἦξει,  
 313 δεῖμα φέρων, ὁπότεν πολυβάρβαρον <ἔθνος> ἀπέλθῃ.  
 315 τοῖς κακὸν αὐτ' ἀγαθοῦ δώσει θεὸς ὑψικέραννος  
 314 καρπὸν, ἐπὰν λόγχῃσι διατμήξωσιν ἀρούρας.  
 316 ξείνος ξείνον αἰὲ προνομεύσας χρυσὸν ἀπάξει.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ πάντες ἐπόψονθ' αἶμα λέοντος  
 θυμοβόρου, (φονία δ' ἦξει ἐπὶ σῶμα[τι] λείαινα  
 αὐτοῦ κακὰ κεφαλῆς, σκῆπτρον τ' ἀπορ[ρ]ίψει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,)  
 320 ὥς [δ'] ὁπότεν ἐν δαιτὶ φίλῃ, γεύσονται ἅπαντες  
 λαοὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τελέουσι δὲ καρτερὰ ἔργα,  
 ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἔ[υ]ρυξε, πολὺς δ' ἀλαλητὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς.  
 [ὥς αὐτῶς] <δαιμόν> ἐκεῖ καὶ τάρβος ἐπέσσειται ἀνθρώποισιν  
 μαινομένης ἔριδος, πολλοὶ δ' ἀπόλονται καὶ ἄλλοι  
 325 ἀλλήλους κτείνοντες ὑπὸ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης.  
 καὶ τότε κυανέαις φολίσιν<ν> πεπυκασμένος ἦξει

— — — — —  
*Lacuna of unknown length.*  
 — — — — —

ἦξουσιν<ν> δύο ἄλλοι <ὁ>μέρ<ρ>οθ[ε]οὶ ἀλλήλοισιν,  
 καὶ τρίτατος ἅμα τοῖς[ι] κριὸς μέγας ἐκ Κυρήνης,  
 ὃν πρὶν ἔλεξα φυγόντα μάχης παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου.

- 330 ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὧς ————  
 ———— ἄπρηκτον ὁδὸν τελέουσιν ἅπαντες.
- 331 καὶ τότε μὲν μεγάλων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαύτων  
 ἔσσονται μήκη πολυήσυχα · αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 στήσεται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλεμος πάλι[ν] δεύτερος αὐτ[ο]ῖς ·  
 ναυμαχίῃ δ' ἔσται, νίκος δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀπέσται.
- 335 ὦ μέλαιοι, χείρω μ' ἔσται πόλεως ἐπισήμου,  
 καὶ πολεμ<ι>οις σκύλευμα γενήσεται, οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρόν.  
 καὶ τότε δ' ἔγχωροι, πόλεως ὁμοτέρμονες ἄνδρες,  
 φεύξονται δειλοί, πολίους δ' ἄξουσιν τοκῆας.  
 <ἄλλ' ὁπόταν ————>  
 καὶ πάλιν ἐγκύρσωσι πῆλα<ς> μέγα νίκος ἔχοντες,
- 340 Ἰουδαῖοι ὀλέσουσι μενεπτολέμους ἀνθρώπους  
 ἄχρὶς ἀλὸς πολιῆς κεραῖζοντες παλάμῃσιν,  
 ποινήν [ες] ἀρνύμενοι περὶ πατρίδος ἥδ' ἐπὶ τοκῶν.  
 κείσεται ἐ<ν> φθιμένοισι τροπαιοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν.
- 344 ἂ[ι αἶ] ὁπόσοι φῶτες περὶ κύματα νηγήσονται.
- 346a ξανθὰ κάρηνα πέσσονται ————  
 346b ———— ὑπ' αἰγυπ[τ]ιῶν πετεηνῶν ·
- 345 πολλοὶ γὰρ κείσονται ἐπὶ ψαμαθώδεας ἀκτάς.
- 347 δὴ τότε θῆρα μέγαν μετελεύσεται αἷμα βρότειον.  
 ἄλλ' ὅταν αὐτὲ λύκοι κυσὶν ὄρκια πιστώσωνται,  
 νήσῳ <ἐν> ἀμφιρύτῃ τότε πύργων ἄν[α]στασις ἔσται,
- 350 ἄνδρες <δ'> οἰκήσουσι πόλιν τὴν πολλὰ παθοῦσαν.  
 οὐκέτι γὰρ δόλιος χρυσὸς οὐδ' ἄργυρος ἔσται,  
 οὐ κτήσις γαίης, οὐ δουλείη πολύμοχθος,  
 ἀλλὰ μίη φιλότης τε καὶ εἷς τρόπος εὐφρονη δῆμῳ,  
 κοινὰ δὲ πάντ' ἔσται, καὶ φῶς ἴσον ἐν βιότοιο.
- 355 ἐκ γαίης<ς> κακίῃ καταδύσεται εἰς ἄλλα διαν.  
 [καὶ τότε δ' ἐγγὺς ἔφν τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.]  
 ταῦτα τελεσθῆναι κρατερῇ ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη.  
 οὐ λέξει τότε τις συμβλήμενος ἄλλῳ ὁδίτῃς  
 ὧς [δὴ] ῥά ποτ' ἀμπαύσει μερόπων γένος ὀλλυμένων περ.
- 360 καὶ τότε δ' ἀγνὸν ἔθνος [ἀ]πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσῃ  
 εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας ἅμ' ἰφθίμοισι τοκεῦσιν.

Which of the earlier Sibylline Oracles were known to the writer of XIV. 284-361? It may be presumed that at least Books XI.-XIV. were in his possession. XIV. 296 is derived from XIII. 50, 74; XIV. 348 from XIII. 28 sq.; and perhaps XIV. 334 from XIII. 38.

As regards Books I.-VIII., I have noted verbal similarities between the following passages:

[XIV. 356—II. 164, Christian?].

XIV. 313—III. 520.



XIV. 357—III. 572.

XIV. 351—VIII. 18.

XIV. 347—VIII. 157.

XIV. 360 sq.—VIII. 169 sq. (VIII. 133 sq.: III. 49 sq.).

XIV. 303—VIII. 171 (III. 52: XIV. 263).

XIV. 354—VIII. 208 (II. 324).

XIV. 298 sq.—VIII. 214 sq. (V. 300).

[XIV. 350—VIII. 324, Christian.]

It appears then that most of our writer's borrowings are from VIII. 1-216; he certainly had that document in his hands, and probably also Book III. There is little positive evidence that other parts of Books I.-VIII. were known to him; but the absence of borrowings from them, in so short a passage, is no proof that he did not know some or all of the other Jewish oracles contained in those books.

Four lines (XIII. 46-49) were almost certainly inserted in Book XIII. by the author of XIV. 284-311. In VIII. 148 sqq. the Sibyl, addressing Rome, says *τρίς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ | πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας, ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἦξη | μοῖρα βιαζομένη, τὸν οὖνομα πληρώσασα*. Rome will perish after an existence of 948 years; for she will then have 'fulfilled her name.' The meaning of this is that the letters of the word ΡΩΜΗ, read as numbers (100 + 800 + 40 + 8), amount to 948. If the traditional date 754 B.C. was accepted for the foundation of Rome, this would give 195 A.D. as the date of her expected destruction. Now we find the same reckoning differently applied in XIII. 46-49: *ταῦτα δὲ πέπρωται · ὅσον δέ τοι οὖνομα, Ῥώμη, | εἰν ἀριθμοῖς ἔσχεν ψηφίζο- μένοιο χρόνιοι, | τοσσοῦτους λυκάβαντας ἐκούσά σε σιτομετρήσει | διὰ πόλις μεγάλη Μακεδονίῳ ἄνακτος*. That is to say, Alexandria shall supply Rome with corn for 948 years. Assuming (as a Sibyllist would naturally assume) that the exportation of corn from Alexandria to the capital of the Roman empire (whether Rome or Constantinople) had been going on ever since the foundation of Alexandria in 332 B.C., it follows from this that the supply was to be stopped in 617 A.D. Now it was in 617 A.D. that Egypt was conquered by Chosroes the Persian, and that the exportation of corn from Alexandria to feed the subjects of the Roman emperor consequently ceased. So exact a correspondence cannot be due to mere coincidence; the prediction must have been written after the event. We must therefore conclude that these lines were inserted in Book XIII. shortly after 617 A.D.; and there can be little doubt that they were inserted by the same person who wrote the account of the conquest of Egypt by Chosroes in XIV. 284 sqq. The old prophecy that Rome would perish after an existence of 948 years had not been fulfilled; the 'number of the name of Rome' must therefore have been wrongly applied. But that number must have some prophetic significance; and this Alexandrian Jew of the seventh century hit on a new application of the number in accordance with known facts, and inserted it in one of the Sibylline books in

his possession. If 'Rome' had not yet been totally destroyed, at any rate she had been deprived of one of the chief sources of her food-supply at the end of a period indicated by the letters of her name.

There was an obvious reason for choosing this particular place in Book XIII. for the insertion of the lines. In the preceding verses (XIII. 38-45) it was predicted that the Persians would never conquer the Romans as long as the export of corn from Alexandria to Rome should continue. The Sibyllist of the seventh century wished to point out that the period thus determined by one of his predecessors had come to an end, and that consequently his hopes of the final overthrow of the Roman power by the Persians were justified.

WALTER SCOTT.



## SOME PROBLEMS IN THE GRAMMATICAL CHAPTERS OF QUINTILIAN.

IN January, 1914,<sup>1</sup> I published in the *CLASSICAL QUARTERLY* an article on the Five Grammatical Chapters of Quintilian, in which I endeavoured to set out the general scheme of the writer and his relation to the educational practice of his time. In the present paper I propose to deal with some of the numerous difficulties of detail—difficulties both of text and meaning—which crop up in chapters 4-7. The technicality of the subject and the abbreviated method of treatment produce much obscurity, even when we have no reason to doubt the text. And as to the text, one can but echo the words of Varro with regard to philological and grammatical questions, ‘*librarios haec spinosiora indiligentius elaturos putavi.*’ The result is that these chapters provide perhaps more problems than are to be found in the same limits in any first class Latin writer—problems which, though not perhaps of much intrinsic importance, have that interest which must always attach to questions which have baffled generations of commentators. I have divided the questions which I have treated into two classes. The first consists of passages in which I feel some confidence in the text which I have adopted or the meaning which I have proposed. The second consists of those which I fear must be left unsolved, though I hope that I have been able to advance the discussion a few steps.

### I.

(I) 4, 20 :

*adiciebant et adseuerationem ut ‘eheu’ et tractionem ut ‘fasciatim.’*

Quintilian is here speaking of two other parts of speech which certain unknown grammarians wished to add to the received eight. Although these additions did not obtain acceptance either from Quintilian or posterity, we must suppose that they were more or less in harmony with the general principles of Latin and Greek grammatical science, and shall expect to find some trace of the distinctions which they represent.

<sup>1</sup> As in that article I stated that no scholar appeared to have treated these chapters since 1886, it should be said that this statement, though true as far as the scope of that article was concerned, requires some qualification when we speak of the problems of detail, with which I am dealing here. There has been a

certain amount of discussion of some of these questions in German and American periodicals, and Meister's edition of 1886 has been followed by Fierville (1890) and Radermacher (1906). But Meister and Radermacher give no commentary, and that of Fierville solves few or none of the difficulties.

I pass over the 'asseverations' for the present, and come to the mysterious 'tractions' exemplified by 'fasciatim.' The older editions and some MSS. had 'tractationem,' which was amended by Stoer to 'attrectationem,' and this remained the accepted reading till Halm. Spalding explained it as follows: 'talibus aduerbiis utimur, cum singulas res aut manu aut mente quasi apprehendimus et contrectamus.' So Lewis and Short give "'attrectatio," a term applied to words which denote a taking of many things together, e.g. "fasciatim," Quint. 1, 4, 10.' Fierville read 'attractionem,' to which he gave the same meaning. Halm, who was followed by Meister and Radermacher, restored the 'tractionem' of the MSS., but none of the three attempt to explain the meaning.

Apart from the question whether any of the suggested words can bear the meaning attached to them by the editors, it seems to me almost incredible that any grammarian, however misguided, should have segregated 'collective adverbs' as a separate part of speech. I find the solution in quite another direction. It is to be found, I believe, in these words of Diomedes, which are paralleled in various forms in other grammarians: 'aduerbia aut suae positionis sunt aut ab aliis partibus orationis trahuntur.' Compare the following passage, from Heliodorus (*Gram. Graec. Hilgard*, III. 96):

τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν (i.e. adverbs) πρωτότυπα, τὰ δὲ παραγωγὰ· πρωτότυπα μὲν οἶον ναί, οὐ, νή, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔχεται ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας, ἀλλὰ πρωτόθετά ἐστι. παραγωγὰ δὲ οἶον ἑλληνιστί, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑλληνίζειν παρῆκται.

Heliodorus goes on to show that these παράγωγα are derived from all parts of speech—e.g. from nouns, βοτρυδόν; from verbs, κρίβδην, etc.

'Tractum' (tractio) then is a synonym for 'deriuatum'<sup>1</sup> and a translation of παραγωγόν (παραγωγή), and here signifies an adverb derived from a noun, verb, etc., as the case may be, in contradistinction to adverbs, which have no such origin, such as 'nuper,' 'heri.' A little reflection will show that this distinction corresponds to a necessary stage in the evolution of grammatical ideas. Amongst the parts of speech the adverbs were 'discovered' late.<sup>2</sup> Before this adverbs like οὐ or νή must have been regarded as conjunctions, while βοτρυδόν and the like belonged to the parts of speech to which they were attached. Early grammar did not clearly distinguish between declension (ἐγκλισις) and derivation (παραγωγή). Indeed even Varro regards 'Romae' as being a 'declinatum' of 'Romulus' as much as 'Romuli,'<sup>3</sup> and Quintilian speaks of verbs in -ito as 'declinata' from the parent verb.<sup>4</sup> Βοτρυδόν then was not merely derived from a noun, but *was* a noun, and κρίβδην *was* a verb. When the conception of the adverb as that which 'fills up and explains the signification of the verb' was reached, it is not surprising that grammatical thought boggled at the idea of bringing together words which had belonged to such different

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint. 8, 3, 32, and the grammarians frequently.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. Hal. *de Comp.* 2.

<sup>3</sup> *L.L.*, 9, 37.

Quint., 9, 1, 12.



categories, and that some were for a compromise by which the adverbs which had been conjunctions were regarded as adverbs proper, and the others were classed together as *παραγωγά*—hybrid adverbs in fact which belonged partly to the adverb genus, partly to the parts of speech from which they were ‘tracta.’<sup>1</sup>

Thus the fact that ‘fasciatim’ is a collective adverb—a fact which, if I am right, has misled all the commentators—is a mere accident. It may be asked why Quintilian gives so odd an example, instead of the ordinary adverbs in *-e* and *-iter*. The answer is, I think, very simple. An account of the ‘tractions’ would naturally begin with the ‘tracta a nominibus.’<sup>2</sup> These would begin with the 1st declension, and the only adverbs formed from the 1st declension are these adverbs in *-tim*. ‘Fasciatim’ therefore probably headed the list of examples in the authority which he consulted.

(2) 4, 28 :

‘itur in antiquam siluam’ nonne propriae cuiusdam rationis ? nam quod initium eius inuenias ? cui simile fletur. accipimus aliter ut

‘panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi’  
aliter ut

‘totis usque adeo turbatur agris.’

Here ‘quod initium eius inuenias?’ means no doubt, as Spalding says, ‘We can find no 1st person to “itur.”’ Quintilian proceeds: ‘We take *it* in one way as “panditur domus,” in another as “turbatur,” etc.’ Take what ? Spalding appositely remarks that ‘were the two “ut”’s absent, the object of “accipimus” would be the two quoted lines.’ As it is, we must understand ‘passium huius modi.’ This, he says, is ‘duriusculum.’ Halm apparently felt the difficulty, for he notes that Spalding would omit the ‘ut’'s. It seems to me that there is a very easy correction ready to hand. I read either—

cui simile fletur. <tur> accipimus aliter ut, etc.

or

cui simile fletur. accipimus aliter <tur> ut, etc.

I prefer the former, as giving a better position to ‘tur.’

Compare “‘ris” syllaba’ (6, 14) and “‘tis” syllaba’ (5, 62). If it is objected that in these cases the word ‘syllaba’ is added, it may be answered that Quintilian constantly varies his use or non-use of ‘litera’ with letters of the alphabet, and therefore may do the same with syllables. Also here we are thinking of ‘tur’ not so much as a syllable as an inflexion with a meaning. Compare also ‘Consentius’ (K 370), ‘uerba impersonalia . . . aut in e et t literis finiuntur aut in tur exeunt.’

<sup>1</sup> So Quintilian (I, 4, 29) speaks of ‘noctu’ as a ‘uocabulum’ (i.e. noun) ‘in aduerbium transiens.’

<sup>2</sup> As in the example from Heliodorus quoted above.

## (3) 5, 21 :

nam 'mehe' quoque pro 'me' apud antiquos tragoediarum praecipue scriptores in ueteribus libris inuenimus.

Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.* p. 422) would read 'mi' for 'me.' This view, which otherwise seems to me hardly consistent with the sense of the whole passage, is rendered impossible by a consideration of Quintilian's usage. Quintilian *never* adopts the practice which is commonly found in Varro and also in Cicero ('in "optimus,"' *Or.* 161) of prefixing a preposition governing an ablative to a quoted noun in another case. His practice is as follows: (a) when possible he brings the noun into the construction of the sentence—e.g. 4, 13, 'Valesii Fusii in Valerios Furiosque uenerunt'; 6, 23, 'si "sulpuri" et "gutturi" subicerent in genetiuo litteram o mediam, quia esset "eboris" et "roboris"'; (b) when the noun has to be expressed in a case which will not come into the construction, he regularly prefixes some substitute for the article<sup>1</sup>—e.g. :

5, 22 : in hoc 'Camillus.'

7, 27 : 'cui' tribus, quas proposui, litteris enotamus, ut ab illo 'qui' distingueretur.

6, 24 : in eo quod est robur roboris.

In 5, 21, therefore, 'me' must be retained, and it also follows that it is ablative, not accusative.

## (4) 5, 68 :

iunguntur autem aut ex duobus Latinis ut 'superfui' 'subterfugi,' quamquam ex integris an composita sint quaeritur, aut integro et corrupto ut 'maleuolus,' 'aut corrupto et integro' ut 'noctiuagus,' aut duobus corruptis ut 'pedisecus.'

Quintilian is here describing the four methods of forming Latin compound words, according as the two elements are 'integra' or 'corrupta'—i.e. altered or not from the original form. The words 'quamquam—quaeritur' have been misunderstood, I think, by the commentators. Gesner supposed that the persons who raised this objection considered that as 'fui' in 'superfui,' and 'subter' in 'subterfugi' lost their accent, they ceased to be 'integra.' Spalding and Fierville repeat the explanation. Spalding remarked that in this case no compound word could be 'ex integris,' and he might have added that on the same theory 'noctiuagus' would be 'ex duobus corruptis.' But as

<sup>1</sup> Except when the case required by the construction is nominative or accusative.

I may take this opportunity of correcting a slip in my article of January, 1914. Incidentally I explained the words "'gladia"' qui dixerunt genere exciderunt' (5, 16) to mean, 'those who use "gladia" in the 1st declension. Quintilian

might say "dixerunt 'gladia'"' (nom.), if the point lay in that particular case, but as here he is speaking of a noun as a whole, he would have said 'gladium' if he meant the 1st declension. 'Gladia' must be neuter plural, but the point did not affect my argument.

Quintilian merely mentions the theory in passing, this is not a fatal objection. It is more to the point that on this explanation 'composita' is superfluous. It seems to me that what the objectors meant was 'if both elements are "integra," is the word really "compositum" (σύνθετον)? Is it not rather to be regarded as two words, "apposita"?' So Apollonius (*De Cons.* IV. 316) thinks it necessary to show that τὰ ἐκ τελείων φωνῶν συντεθειμένα have really σύνθεσις, and not merely παράθεσις.

(5) 6, 4:

eius (i.e. analogiae) uis est ut . . . incerta certis probet: quod efficitur . . . comparatione similium in extremis maxime syllabis, propter quod ea, quae sunt e singulis, negantur habere rationem.

Fierville's note on this passage, the silence of other editors, and the fact that I for long misunderstood it myself, have induced me to include it in my list. Fierville quotes Varro, *L.L.* 10, 79, 'in uerbis quae non declinantur analogia non debet quaeri ut in his "nequam mox uix."' He then adds that 'Quintilian has changed the meaning of the passage by restricting the category of words where one must not look for analogy to monosyllables.' He might have said that Quintilian had made nonsense of the passage—for nonsense it seems at first sight. If analogy holds good at all, why, one asks, should it not hold between 'flo' and 'no' or 'res' and 'spes'? I was for some time disposed to bring the passage into harmony with Varro by supposing 'e singulis' ('casibus' perhaps having dropped out) to be a translation for μονόπτωτα,<sup>1</sup> and to mean 'indeclinables.' But the following passages from Charisius (*K.* 138), "'os" monosyllabam extra analogiam esse Plinius scribit,' and from Martianus Capella (*III.* 299) "'as" et "mas" cum sint monosyllaba analogia non tenentur' show that monosyllables are really meant. It follows, I think, that 'extremis syllabis' above means the whole syllable, and not the termination—i.e. the laws of analogy hold between 'funis' and 'panis,' but not necessarily between 'funis' and 'puppis.' On this assumption monosyllables would be 'extra analogiam' because no two monosyllables, unless they are identical, can have the same last syllable.

The point has some bearing on Nettleship's theory, against which I argued in my last article, that this chapter is taken from Pliny. If Charisius is right, and Pliny held the theory that monosyllables were 'extra analogiam,' he must have held presumably the theory about final syllables, with which the other is bound up. But Quintilian holds no such theory. He mentions it indeed here, but not only does he qualify it with 'maxime' and perhaps dissociate himself from it by 'negantur,' but he argues throughout in a way in which no one who held Pliny's theory could argue. Thus in 6, 25 he gives the couples 'uirgo, Juno,' 'fusus lusus,' 'cuspis puppis,' as examples of 'similes positiones'—i.e. words with similar nominatives—which are yet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mart. Cap. iii. 242, 'monoptota ut "nequam."'



declined differently. Pliny might possibly have quoted the last two pairs as exceptions to his own rule, but would he have coupled them with 'uirgo Juno,' which on his theory 'non debent analogiam'? And this is by no means the only case in chapter 6, where Quintilian regards similarity of termination rather than identity of the final syllable as the proper basis of analogy.

(6) 6, 13 :

illi autem idem cum interrogantur cur aper 'apri' et pater 'patris' faciat, illud nomen positum, hoc ad aliquid esse contendunt.

The thoroughgoing analogists, when challenged to give a reason why two nouns with such strong general resemblance as 'aper' and 'pater'<sup>1</sup> should be declined differently, reply that they belong to different classes, 'pater' being 'ad aliquid' and 'aper' not.

The idea of relative or 'ad aliquid' nouns appears regularly in the grammarians, and can be traced back to Dionysius Thrax, who gives us as a class :

πρός τι ἔχον ὡς πατήρ υἱός φίλος δεξιός.

It is explained by Consentius, K. 339, as well as anyone :

haec enim alium intellectum secum trahunt. patre enim dicto intelligas simul filium et magistro dicto intelligas simul discipulum necesse est.

But the word 'positum' has given difficulty to editors, who have mostly supposed that some adverb has been lost. Thus Obrecht inserted 'simpliciter,' and this was adopted by Burmann, Spalding, and others. 'Nude' has been proposed and 'per se,' this last being based on the definition of 'ad aliquid' nouns as nouns 'quae per se intellectum non habent' (K. 5, 148).

I believe, on the contrary, that 'positum,' or possibly 'positivum,' is right, and that no insertion is required.

The opposite of *πρός τι ἔχον* is *ἀπόλυτον* or *ἀπολελυμένον* (absolutum). Cf. Dionysius Thrax, § 12, *ἀπολελυμένον ἐστὶν ὃ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ νοεῖται, οἷον θεός λόγος*; Priscian, 'absoluta ut deus ratio.' The scholiast is perhaps right in saying that *ἀπόλυτα* exclude other nouns besides *πρός τι ἔχοντα* such as patronymics or comparatives, but at any rate no *πρός τι ἔχον* can be *ἀπόλυτον*.

'Positivus,' on the other hand, though I have never seen this recognized in any Latin dictionary, is the Greek *θεματικός*. *Θέμα* and *θεματικός* are used by Apollonius<sup>1</sup> in the sense of a word which stands by itself, and is not formed from another either by derivation or inflection. Thus *οὗτος* is said

<sup>1</sup> Why should 'aper' and 'pater' be expected to show analogy? Perhaps the answer is to be found in the canon of Aristophanes (Charisius, K. 1, 117) that (1) gender, (2) case, (3) termination (exitus), (4) number of syllables, (5) 'sonus' must be the same. 'Sonus' may mean accent or perhaps general similarity of sound. If the latter, the *ā* in both nouns counts. In either case the genitives of 'aper' and 'pater'

on these principles 'debent analogiam.' Chari-sius in this case makes a mistake when he says, 'pater patris cum faciat et mater matris, cur dissimiliter aper apri et caper capri solet quaeri' (K. 83). For 'mater,' and 'aper' being different genders do not 'owe analogy.'

<sup>2</sup> A good account of the use of these words in Apollonius will be found in *Gram. Graec.* (Schneider), vol. i., fasc. 2, p. 21.

not to be 'thematic,' but derived from the article. The personal pronouns are said to be 'thematically' declined. Properly speaking, I imagine, ἀπόλυτος is applied to function or meaning, and θεματικός to form. But the two ideas are easily interchanged. Thus Apollonius says that the nouns and verbs are more 'thematic' than the other parts of speech, meaning that they can form a sentence by themselves, while the others cannot. So, too, while Servius speaks of an adjective used as a substantive as used 'absolute,' Macrobius describes it as 'positium.' Underived nouns or verbs, as opposed to derivatives, are usually called 'primitiva'; but in Priscian, K II. 427, 428, they are 'positiva,' and in Charisius (K I. 268) 'absoluta.' But the interchange between the two is most striking in the case of the 'positive degree' of adjectives. Here 'positive' and 'absolute' constantly replace each other. It is perfectly natural therefore that Quintilian should describe nouns which are not 'ad aliquid' as 'positive.' No insertion is required, and at the most we need only make the small correction of 'positum' to 'positium.'

But is even this necessary? I think not. In the first place, there is great facility of interchange between adjectives in -us and -ivus. Thus we find 'absolutivus' as well as 'absolutus,' and 'infinivus' as well as 'infinivus.' In the second place, we should expect the form 'positum' to be found as a translation for θέμα, which appears in Apollonius, as well as θέσις (positio) and θεματικός (positivus).<sup>1</sup>

(7) 5, 17:

contrarium ei vitium, quod συναίρεσιν et συναλοιφήν Graeci vocant, nos complexionem dicimus, qualis est apud Varronem.

tum te flagranti deiectum fulmine, Phaethon.

I add this somewhat trivial point, chiefly to show with what caution much of the dogmatism of German editors and critics of Quintilian must be received.

The text as above, with some variations as to the spelling of συναλοιφήν, is read by all MSS. In 1879 Birt, in an article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, pointed out that several of the later Latin grammarians describe this treatment of the vowels as 'episynalifa,' or 'episynaliphe,' and that they also give the same example. On the other hand, they reserve the name 'synaliphe' for the elision of a final vowel before another initial vowel. Accordingly Birt stated positively that ἐπισυναλοιφήν should be read in our passage. Meister, in his edition of 1886, adopted this correction. Kiderlin spoke of it as certain in his review of Meister. Radermacher, in his edition of 1906, also adopted it. None of them give any reason for the change beyond a bare reference to Birt, and the ordinary student of Quintilian would conclude that ἐπισυναλοιφήν was to be regarded as undoubtedly what Quintilian wrote.

<sup>1</sup> Radermacher has a discussion of this passage in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1905, in which he also arrives at the conclusion that 'positum' is right. But the

article shows to my mind a complete misconception of the meaning of the terms.

As a matter of fact, the correction, so far from being certain, is, I think, almost, if not quite, impossible. Quintilian is telling us what the Greeks called this phenomenon, but none of the critics seem to have troubled themselves to find out the Greek usage. To do this, it is not necessary to ransack the Greek grammarians, for the evidence will be found at considerable length in Stephanus, and indeed in Liddell and Scott. There is no such word as ἐπισυναλοιφή known to the lexicographers, and on the other hand συναλοιφή was used and continued to be used to describe or at any rate to cover the phenomenon with which Quintilian is dealing here. I submit one typical passage:

ἡ μὲν συναλοιφή γένος ἐστίν, ἔχει δ' εἶδη ἑπτὰ, τρία μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τέσσαρα δὲ σύνθετα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ εἰσι ταῦτα, ἔκθλιψις, κρᾶσις, συναίρεσις . . . ἡ συναίρεσις . . . οἷον παῖς παῖς, ἄῤω, αῤω, Δημοσθένει Δημοσθένει (*Gram. Graec.*, III. 146).

How 'episynalifa' or 'episynaliphe' came to take root in the later Latin terminology I have no idea. It is not indeed difficult to understand that the phenomena of Latin elision, differing as they do from Greek, should have produced some change of terms. It is natural enough that the Greek term for elision, ἔκθλιψις, should be felt to be inappropriate to a process in which the 'elided' vowel was retained, at any rate in writing, or to be needed for the elision of the final 'm,' and that accordingly the elision of the vowel monopolized the general term 'synaloepha.' Why, however, the Latin grammarians were not contented with 'synaeresis' to describe the phenomenon of the dissyllable 'Phaethon' I do not know. They may, of course, have followed some side-strain of Greek grammar, now lost. But on all the evidence we possess, when Quintilian says 'quod συναίρεσιν et συναλοιφήν Graeci uocant,' he gives the correct version of the facts.

## II.

I pass on to a few passages, most of which have been much discussed off and on during the last century in Germany, without, I think, any certainty being reached. As I said above, all I can hope to do in these cases is to advance the discussion by some steps.

(I) 4, 10 and 11:

Atque etiam in ipsis uocalibus grammatici est uidere an aliquas pro consonantibus usus acceperit, quia 'iam' sicut 'tam' (edd. 'etiam') scribitur et quos (edd. mostly 'uos') ut cos (edd. 'tuos'). at quae ut uocales iunguntur aut unam longam faciunt, ut ueteres scripserunt, qui geminatione earum uelut apice utebantur, aut duas, nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus uocalibus syllabam fieri, si non aliquae officio consonantium fungantur. quaeret hoc etiam, quomodo duabus demum uocalibus in se ipsas coeundi natura sit, cum consonantium nulla nisi alteram frangat. atqui littera i sibi insidit: 'conicit' (or 'coniicit') enim est ab illo iacit, et u, quomodo nunc scribitur 'uulgus' et



'seruus.' sciat etiam Ciceroni placuisse 'aiio' 'Maiiam' que geminata i scribere: quod si est, etiam iungetur ut consonans.

As regards the first sentence of this 'locus difficillimus,' as Spalding calls it, I have nothing new to say. I accept in principle at any rate the corrections usually proposed of 'etiam' and 'tuos.' Variants are possible, but the meaning must be that we write 'i' and 'u,' whether they belong or do not belong to the same syllable as the vowel following. The main difficulty lies in the second sentence.

Before dealing with this, however, it will be well to explain the third sentence, which is obscure at first reading through the technicality of the language, though the meaning is not really open to much doubt. The grammarian, says Quintilian, will ask how it is that two vowels only have the property of repeating themselves in a syllable ('in se ipsas coeundi'), while in other cases it is always different vowels or different consonants<sup>1</sup> which come together—i.e. how is it that we find 'ii,' 'uu' in a syllable, but not 'aa,' 'bb,' etc.? Now though the word 'quaeret' suggests at first sight that this is another in the series of 'quaestiones' which Quintilian is proposing for the study of the grammarian, this cannot, I think, be the case. The answer to the question is of course that the first 'i' or 'u' are not vowels at all, but consonants, and the problem would therefore be one which has already been solved. It is clear that this sentence does *not* introduce a new problem, but gives another reason for the belief that 'i' and 'u' are sometimes consonants. Is it likely, he asks, that 'i' and 'u' should be exceptions to the law which otherwise holds of all vowels and consonants, that there can be no repetition in the syllable? and they would be exceptions, if they were not sometimes consonants.

The connection between this and the fourth sentence I take to be as follows: If anyone objects that we do not actually write 'ii,' I reply that Cicero did so write 'aiio' and 'Maiia'; and if we accept this as right, 'i' as well as 'u' must come into the syllable as a consonant ('quod si est,<sup>2</sup> etiam iungetur ut consonans'). This connection will require that we should read 'conicit,' not 'coniicit.' Spalding preferred 'conicit,' but as a matter of fact, though A gives 'conicit' and the editors elsewhere use this and similar forms, they all here print 'coniicit.' I share Spalding's feeling that in this case the addition 'est ab illo iacit' has no meaning. I understand Quintilian to mean, 'conicit' really has two 'i's,' for it is derived from 'iacit.' If this seems too harsh, there is an easy correction. We might read—

atqui littera i sibi insidit <ut conicit>, coniicit enim est ab illo iacit (as 'conicit,' for that is really 'coniicit,' from 'iacit').

<sup>1</sup> This use of 'frangere' to express the action of one consonant upon another following it in the same syllable is found also in 12, 10, 29, 'illa quae est sexta nostrarum (i.e. f.) quotiens

aliquam consonantium frangit, ut in hoc ipso "frangit" multo fit horridior.'

<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that 'i' has fallen out between 'est' and 'etiam.'

The conclusion that the third and fourth sentences continue the argument to show that 'i' and 'u' are sometimes consonants confirms the natural impression that the second sentence also gives an argument for this belief. But what is the argument? Two views, I think, are possible. It may be as follows: Vowels in the same syllable, if not a mere symbol for a single long vowel, make a diphthong; but these ('ia' in 'iam' and 'uo' in 'uos') are not diphthongs. 'Duas,' however, cannot mean a diphthong, and accordingly Ständer and Ritschl corrected 'duas' to 'diphthongum,' a correction which, though not actually adopted in any edition, has been received with respect.<sup>1</sup> Ritschl accounted for the corruption by the caprice of a copyist, who, supposing 'syllabam' to be understood with 'unam,' altered 'diphthongum' to 'duas' to correspond. This is surely somewhat arbitrary. Perhaps the same result might be obtained more easily by supposing 'aut du < plicem in unum sonum confusas du > as.' But if we are to proceed on these lines at all, I would venture to suggest another solution as being both nearer to the MSS. and an improvement to the sense. Quintilian's argument will be clearer, if we suppose him to have intended to tell us that two vowels in a syllable do *not* really make two, but a single sound. I suggest that he may have written—

aut duplicem sonum<sup>2</sup> non autem duas.

It would be natural enough that the eye of the copyist should pass from 'aut du' to 'aut du' a few words on, and 'aut duas' would easily be reduced to 'aut duas' to balance 'aut unam' above. This will also give a good meaning, quite in accordance with Quintilian's use of 'nisi' to the words 'nisi—funguntur.' The meaning will be 'to suppose that there can really be two vowels in a syllable, and that also "i" and "u" are never consonants, will land us in the absurdity of supposing that syllables like "iae" and "uae" are made up of three vowels.'

The argument may, however, be something different. It may be: 'There cannot be more than two vowels in a syllable (there is no such thing as a triphthong), and therefore "i" and "u" must be sometimes consonants, for otherwise we should sometimes get three vowels.'<sup>3</sup> In this case I would suggest that the sentence be written:

aut unam longam faciunt . . . aut duas (nisi quis putat etiam ex tribus uocalibus syllabam fieri) <quod nequit fieri>, si non aliquae officio fungantur.' Here the 'quod' will refer to 'duas faciunt,' and the meaning will be this result—viz. that the 'uocales iunctae' make two, and not more than two

<sup>1</sup> Radermacher attempted to improve upon it by printing—

aut <diphthongum, 'non iungimus autem plures quam > duas.

Apart from the arbitrary nature of this insertion, it seems to me to make the sentence still more incoherent. Radermacher, however, confidently says 'restitui sententiam.'

<sup>2</sup> As a translation of course of διφθογγος.

<sup>3</sup> I imagine that editors have usually understood these words to mean, 'No one supposes a syllable to consist of three vowels, unless one of them is really a consonant.' But apart from the question whether this has really any bearing on the argument, it would surely require 'aliqua fungantur.'

cannot be obtained, if 'i' and 'u' are not sometimes consonants. There are two strong reasons for this view. Firstly, much the same reasoning is found in Priscian (K. II. 44): 'nulla syllaba tres uocales habet, unde "u" et "i" non aliter iunguntur diphthongis nisi loco positae consonantium'—i.e. since there can be only two vowels, we infer that 'u' and 'i' before a diphthong must be consonants. Secondly, a good many MSS., though not usually regarded as the most valuable, have the words 'quod nequit'<sup>1</sup> after 'fieri.' In fact, the older editions, including Spalding, retained these words, though the later editions have rejected and ignored them. On the other hand, no doubt this way of treating the passage involves some harshness and obscurity. I do not feel inclined to decide between this and the line proposed above. Only one thing I feel sure of. Quintilian often expresses himself confusedly, but I believe that his thought, if you can get at it, is always logical, and if the common text, as found in Halm and Meister is, as it seems to me, illogical, it cannot be right.

(2) 4, 20:

adiciebant et adseuerationem ut 'eheu.'

I have already discussed the words that follow this. Here the term 'adseueratio' raises no difficulty. It is presumably an extension of the process by which the Latin grammarians created the interjection. The interjection was obtained by segregating from the adverbs those which Dionysius Thrax calls *σχετλιαστικά* and *θαυμαστικά*, of which he gives as examples *παπαί* and *βαβαί*. The Latins define them as 'significantes adfectum animi.'<sup>2</sup> It is not to be wondered at that some should wish to extend this segregating process to the *ἀπωμοτικά* as *μά*, the *κατωμοτικά* as *νή*, and the *βεβαιωτικά* as *δηλαδή*. But it is difficult to think that 'eheu' can be the right example. It is true that Charisius and others say that 'heu' is sometimes an 'aduerbium respondendi,' but 'responsio' is not quite the same as 'adseueratio,' and if it was, no grammarian doubted that 'heu' and 'eheu' were also interjections. It does not seem likely therefore that it would have been taken to illustrate a class which must have stood in contrast to the regular interjections.

The difficulty was felt by Caperronier, who proposed either 'ne,' which would of course do well enough in sense, or 'hem,' which like 'heu' is sometimes classed as an 'aduerbium respondendi.' It appears to me that something may be said for 'euhoe.' The corruption would be easy. It is against it that the Latin grammarians, as we have them, call 'euhoe' an interjection. But this view may not always have been taken. Dionysius does not class *εὐοί* with the *θαυμαστικά* and *σχετλιαστικά*, but as an adverb *θειασμοῦ*. It might fairly be argued that it was not so much an expression of the emotion of the

<sup>1</sup> Spalding understood 'fieri' after 'nequit' from the former 'fieri,' quoting Livy 6, 37, 7, 'obtinendum esse, quod comitiis nequeat,' sc. 'obtineri.' I have suggested 'quod nequit fieri' as more likely to account for the omission

through the two 'fieri's' from some MSS. and the retention in the form 'quod nequit' in others.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Charisius (quoting Cominianus, K. I. 238).



worshipper as a means of emphasizing the praise of the god, and this view would find support from the line of Virgil, which Charisius quotes—

euhoe, Bacche, fremens, solum te uirgine dignum  
uociferans.

(3) 5, 22:

difficilior obseruatio est per . . . accentus . . . cum acuta et grauis alia pro alia ponuntur, ut in hoc 'Camillus,' si acuitur prima, aut grauis pro flexa ut Cethegus . . . et hic prima acuta nam sic media mutatur; aut flexa pro graui, ut apice circumducta sequenti, quam ex duabus syllabis in unam cogentes et deinde flectentes dupliciter peccant. sed id saepius in Graecis nominibus accidit, ut Atreus, quem nobis iuuenibus doctissimi senes acuta prima dicebant, ut necessario secunda grauis esset, item Nerei Tereique.

This is perhaps the most disputed passage in all these chapters. In the fourth line the MSS. are divided between 'ut circumducta sequenti' and 'aut apice circumducta sequenti.' The fact that 'apice' does not make sense (it cannot mean 'circumflex'), coupled with its absence from so many important MSS., has led editors almost universally to the conclusion that it is an attempt to correct something which was unintelligible in the archetype.

Spalding suggested 'Appi,' which was accepted by Halm. Though this suggestion has been rejected with scorn by some critics, I do not think that it should be altogether ruled out. The case for it rests on the fact that Varro, followed by nearly all the grammarians, declared that proper names in 'ius' ought to make their genitive in 'ii,' so that the genitive should not be shorter than the nominative. The case against it is that as a matter of fact such proper names continued in common practice to contract the genitive, and it is doubted whether Quintilian, with his respect for 'consuetudo,' would speak with such condemnation of a general usage. Still people are not consistent, and the strongest advocate of the claims of usage may find some particular usage intolerable. An additional reason against 'Appi' is that no explanation is forthcoming as to why anyone should accentuate it on the 'i.' Further, the sense of 'second' which must be given to 'sequenti' is not to my mind altogether satisfactory. Quintilian does use 'sequens' for 'second,' but always in relation to 'prior' and 'primus,' and the 'primam' above can hardly be brought into the argument. It is one thing to say 'the first syllable of "magister" is short and the next long,' and another to say 'the first syllable of "magister" is short and the next of "dominus" is also short.' Still, this is not conclusive, and unless some better solution can be found 'Appi' has claims to consideration.

Birt, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1879, proposed 'Marcipor.' This, he says, Quintilian 'hat ohne Zweifel geschrieben.' Meister seems to have shared his confidence, for he actually prints it in his text, and Kiderlin, in his review of Meister's edition, pronounces it 'sicher.' It seems to me that there is very

little to be said for it. The case rests on a passage of Consentius,<sup>1</sup> where dealing with what he calls<sup>2</sup> 'episynaliphe' or contraction of syllables he instances Orpheüs for Orphěüs, and among Latin names Marcipor for Marcipuer. Birt gives so little argument (and his followers give none at all) that I do not know what he would have said to the objections that occur to me. I suppose the resemblances of 'Marcipor' to 'apice' are enough to make the corruption possible. Whether they are enough to lend any weight to the suggestion, I will not venture to judge. But one of the objections to 'Appi' applies also to 'Marcipor.' Consentius says nothing about accentuation. What reason is there for supposing that anyone circumflexed the last syllable? Further, what meaning is to be given to 'sequenti'? Whether it can mean 'second' or not, it surely cannot mean 'third.' The strongest objection seems to me to be that Quintilian says that the persons who contracted this word went wrong in doing so. Surely this is quite inapplicable to a word which, as he himself has told us in 4, 26, had gone out of use. Did he really wish that people who read of a 'Publipor' in Sallust's History should pronounce it 'Publipuer'?

I should prefer to approach the problem from another side. It seems to me that there are two *prima facie* probabilities. The first is that as the phenomenon described happened more frequently 'in Greek names like Atreus,' it happened also in Latin words in '-eus.' The second is that the phenomenon was caused by a tendency to imitate Greek accentuation. I infer this from the fact that Quintilian above uses the words 'in hoc "Camillus,"' not 'in Camillo.' This, as I have said above,<sup>3</sup> suggests that the persons who accentuated Camillus on the first syllable, did not carry this through the whole noun, but only when the ultimate was short. In fact, they adopted the Greek accentuation. And this is intrinsically probable. For Quintilian tells us, I. I, 13, that the practice of giving undue weight to Greek in the education of boys at Rome resulted in many 'oris uitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti.' Now these two suggestions—(1) that the phenomenon in question appeared in words in 'eus'; (2) that it was some imitation of Greek accentuation are of course by no means certainties, but they have the merit of converging to a point. The Latin adjectives in 'eus,' though much more extensively used, correspond both in form and meaning to the Greek adjectives in 'εος.' 'Aúreus' is formed and accentuated as *χρύσεος*. But *χρύσεος*, contrary to common usage, becomes in Attic *χρυσοῦς*. In Quintilian's words the Greeks 'ex duabus syllabis in unam cogunt et deinde flectunt.' I suggest then that the tendency to adopt Greek pronunciation made some Romans do the same with 'aureus.' Can we on these lines supply the missing word? I do not think it necessarily invalidates my suggestion if we cannot, but I will hazard two guesses. Quintilian may have quoted 'piceus' with perhaps some other word to show that the usage was extended to words which had no regular Greek equivalent, as well as to those which had. The second is still

<sup>1</sup> K. 389<sup>2</sup> v. p. 8.<sup>3</sup> v. on 5, 21, p. 4.

bolder, and I write it with fear and trembling. Suppose the archetype of our MSS. had 'ut appositis e circumducta sequentique, quam,' etc., 'as when the adjectives have the "e" and the following syllable circumflexed' (*cf.* 2, 14, 3, 'rhetorica uno modo fit adpositum, altero nomen rei'). A blot in the middle of the word would leave decipherable 'ap . . . ise, and I need not delay over the ease with which the 'que' would be absorbed in the following 'quam.' I repeat that I put this forward as a guess only, and do not think that its rejection need involve the rejection of the general explanation.

(4) 6, 38:

quidam non dubitarunt etymologiae subicere omnem nominis causam, ut ex habitu, quemadmodum dixi, 'Longos' et 'Rufos,' ex sono 'stertere' 'murmurare,' etiam deriuata, ut a uelocitate dicitur uelox, et composita pluraque his similia, quae sine dubio aliunde originem ducunt, sed arte non egent, cuius in hoc opere non est usus nisi in dubiis.

The general meaning of this passage is clear enough. What is meant by 'etymology'? It inquires into the origin of words. But does this include the relation of an ordinary 'deriuatum' to its 'primitium,' or of a compound word to its elements? To take instances from passages discussed above, is it an 'etymology' to say that 'fasciatim' is derived from 'fascia' or 'noctiuagus' from 'nox' and 'uagus'? Quintilian thinks not. There must be some further element of difficulty—either some introduction of special historical or antiquarian lore, as the legend of the death of Argus, to explain the name Argiletum; or some ingenious philological manipulation, as 'lepus' from 'leuipes.' This is satisfactory enough. But can Quintilian really have thought of 'uelox' as a 'deriuatum' from 'uelocitas' instead of the reverse? Kiderlin and Meister regard it as impossible. The former rightly quotes 8, 3, 32, where 'beatitas' and 'beatitudo' are spoken of as 'deriuata' or 'tracta' or 'declinata'; and 1, 6, 17, where 'frugalitas' is said to be 'made' from 'frugalis.' He might have added that Priscian<sup>1</sup> in his fourth book, where he deals with 'deriuata,' lays down at length that 'probitas,' 'nouitas,' etc., are from 'probus,' 'nouus,' etc. But he has failed to notice that Varro actually holds the doctrine which he thinks impossible. In *L.L.* VIII. 15, Varro appears to hold that 'prudens' is a 'declinatum' from 'prudentia,' and 'strenuus' from 'strenuitas.' In the face of this, we can hardly say with certainty that the text as we have it is wrong. On the other hand, the rest of the evidence leaves it under suspicion, and critics are justified in considering whether it can be emended with probability.

One way out of the difficulty, which seems to me possible, though I do not ascribe to it any high degree of probability, would be to suppose that the words 'ut a uelocitate dicitur uelox' have been transposed, and should be placed after 'Longos et Rufos.' In this case Quintilian would be giving another example of an adjective used as a 'cognomen.' I do not think it

<sup>1</sup> K. III. 128.



would be any objection to this suggestion, that 'uelox' is not, so far as I know, found as a name. On the contrary, he may have wished to suggest some epithet which had not, as a matter of fact, become a family name, but might easily become attached to some individual. It is a more serious objection that I see no reason to account for the transposition.

Kiderlin boldly suggested 'ut a ueloci uelocitas ducitur.' He supposes the successive stages of corruption to have been: (1) 'ut a uelocitas ducitur,' (2) 'ut a uelocitate ducitur,' (3) 'ut a uelocitate ducitur uelox.'

Meister prints in his edition 'uelo' for 'uelocitate,' relying on Priscian (K. II. 140), 'in "ox" uerbalia uel denominatiua "uoco uox," "uelum uelox".' Kiderlin objects that Quintilian would not have thought this connection obvious enough to be classed amongst the 'non dubia quae non arte egent.' I am not sure that this objection is very serious. Different minds work differently in such matters. Quintilian may have seen nothing forced in the connection of meaning, and there is no difficulty as to form.

If we may accept this suggestion of Meister in principle, I should prefer to bring it into harmony with the MSS. by reading 'uelo citato.' This suggestion has been made by Bonnet,<sup>1</sup> but from a different point of view. Bonnet, who does not, I think, completely understand the passage, supposes that Quintilian means that 'uelox' is derived from the two words 'uelum citatum.' This, he says, would be a 'derivation moyenne' from the fantastical ancient point of view. I do not mean this at all. I suggest that Quintilian means that 'uelox' is a derivative of 'uelum'—i.e. that a person who is 'uelox' possesses the qualities of a 'uelum.' Then 'citatum' is added as an explanation. For clearly the 'uelox' does not possess the qualities of a 'uelum' under all circumstances, but only when it is 'citatum'—in rapid motion. If I was explaining the word 'lobster-coated,' and said that it came from a 'boiled lobster,' I should not of course mean that 'boiled' had anything to do with the formation.

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<sup>1</sup> *Revue de Philologie*, 1892.

## A CRITICISM OF CRITERIA.

### OBSERVATIONS ON THE EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY METRE AND DICTION FOR THE DATE OF LATIN POEMS.

#### I. EVIDENCE FROM VERSIFICATION.

THERE has been much discussion in recent years regarding the date and authorship of the poems included in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and about the *Ciris* and the *Culex* in particular. Evidence of very various kinds has been brought to bear on the question. My chief aim in this paper is to propound a criterion which as far as I know is new—though it seems to me a fairly conspicuous thing, and I do not know why it has not been investigated—and to examine certain criteria which seem to me to have been treated quite wrongly—treated in a way which could lead to no conclusion—even by so distinguished a scholar as Norden. I propose in a second paper to examine the argument from diction, especially in regard to the *Culex*, and to try to show that the evidence adduced for Virgilian authorship by Miss Jackson (*Class. Quart.* vol. v., p. 163 sq.) is not so conclusive as it has been supposed to be; and, next, to point out certain features or mannerisms in the *Culex* which seem to me to be on the whole *against* authorship by Virgil. I have hardly any doubt that both the *Ciris* and the *Culex* were written before 44 B.C., and the *Lydia* and *Dirae* only two or three years later; but, while the evidence for the early date of some of the *Vergiliana* grows stronger on further examination, the evidence for Virgilian authorship seems to me to grow weaker, even in the case of the well-attested *Culex*.

A few years ago I collected, in an article in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xxxi., p. 266 sq.) some of the facts about a certain type of Hexameter, that in which there is threefold agreement between accent and ictus at the end of the line:

Peliaco quondam prognátae uértice pínus  
dicuntur liquidas Neptúni násse per úndas.

I selected this because it is an effect that can be felt, one of which poet and reader must alike be aware. Nobody could read twenty lines of Cicero's *Aratea* or of Catullus' sixty-fourth poem without feeling in some degree the frequency or prevalence of the effect. I rather distrust criteria which have to be discovered by counting and which might be called *infra-sensible*. What I want to find is what is a perceptible fashion or tendency or mannerism which has a vogue for a time. The liking of the νεώτεροι for a σπονδευῶν (placidum mare matutino) is such a mannerism, and the facts about it were tabulated

long ago.<sup>1</sup> They are given by Skutsch in *Vergils Frühzeit*. The mannerism which I now propose to examine is the use of participles and participial clauses, especially in the nominative singular. Any careful reader would, I think, say that a line like this is not Augustan:

ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans

(Cicero translating Homer). Again, in the *Ciris* (l. 402) we have:

ad caelum infelix ardentia lumina tendens,  
lumina, nam teneras, etc.,

but in Virgil (*Aen.* ii. 405 sq.):

ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,  
lumina, etc.

Of course there *are* endings in the *Aeneid*—a few—like ‘ardentia lumina tendens.’ It is not a thing from which Virgil was absolutely debarred, and the comparison of these two passages does not in itself assign the *Ciris* to an earlier date. It is only when all the facts have been reviewed and counted that the difference is seen to be significant.

But before producing the details of this evidence I think it is desirable or even necessary to say something about the general conditions or aspects of the problem. When we view the whole situation, what sort of evidence is likely to be discoverable, or to be cogent when discovered? The conditions are not on the whole unfavourable. In the first place, there is more co-operation between Roman poets than is common among poets of modern times. We can see the Latin Hexameter gradually taking shape in the hands of successive generations. There is consecutive study of metrical technique, as there is also in elegiac and lyric verse. Sometimes this consists in conquering for Latin a particular effect of Greek verse; more often, or at all events frequently, it consists in rejecting some Greek effect which was vaguely or half-consciously felt to be alien to the genius of the Latin language. In diction, a new poetic speech is gradually created—Ennius had made a large contribution to it—and prosaic words or turns of speech are gradually discarded. In these respects the poets of any particular generation have a good deal in common. And when we turn to the two contiguous periods, that of Catullus and that of Virgil, this is seen to be pre-eminently the case. There is a great difference between the Hexameter of 60 or 55 B.C. and the Hexameter of 30 B.C. The decade 50 to 40 B.C., or 52 to 42 B.C., is a period from which we have no extant poem (unless we can prove that the *Ciris* and *Culex* and one or two other things belong to it). For us, Roman poetry is here like a stream that flows for some distance underground, to emerge again with very different qualities and very

<sup>1</sup> We know also why this criterion would be of no use for dating verses of Cicero's. Probably the fashion had not come in when he wrote his *Aratea*, *admodum adulescentulus*. When it did come in, he thought it an affectation, as appears from

the well-known passage in his Letters (*ad Att.* vii, 2, 1: ita belle nobis *flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites*; hunc *σπονδείδιστον* si cui uoles *τῶν νεωτέρων* pro tuo uendito).



different inspiration. If we set aside the isolated genius of Lucretius, and a good deal of what Catullus wrote, it is not difficult to characterize the poetry of the time. The tendencies of the 'cantores Euphorionis' or the νεώτεροι, as Cicero called them, are the commonplaces of any text-book of literary history, and I need not recount them here. There is quite clearly what can be called a prevalent manner, a group of poets who have much in common. Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis*, Cinna's *Smyrna* and Calvus' *Io* were all poems of the same general type. And, to select one or two illustrations in detail, it is not an accident that out of ten extant Hexameters of Calvus five have the threefold coincidence of accent and ictus (as in 'et mágnas cóndidit úrbes'); nor is it an accident that out of the not very numerous extant lines of Varro Atacinus (who was twelve years older than Virgil) one is a good specimen of a σπονδειαῖζων:

hortantes 'O Phoebe' et 'Ieie' conclamarunt;<sup>1</sup>

nor have critics hesitated about assigning to some 'cantor Euphorionis' the anonymous lines:

tuque Lycaonio prognata e semine nympha,  
quam gelido raptam de uertice Nonacrenae  
Oceano prohibet semper se tingere Tethys,  
ausa suae quia sit quondam succumbere alumnae,

where not only the σπονδειαῖζων but also the slightly prosaic 'ausa suae quia sit quondam' and the elision in 'succumbere alumnae' are characteristic, while the whole passage may be said to be redolent of Alexandrian explanatory science, mythological and astronomical. The Augustan poet usually assumed such things to be known. Ennius, earlier, had been sometimes clumsily or heavily didactic ('sophiam, sapientia quae perhibetur'). The Augustans are more sensitive to poetic effect, it is only by inadvertence, by an occasional lapse or relapse, that they 'instruct' the reader (as when Horace talks about the 'Amazonia securis'). Nor do they begin by talking about their own literary efforts or purposes, their 'charta' or 'pagina,' as the author of the *Ciris* does (though Virgil has the word 'pagina,' once, in the *Eclogues*, 'quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen'). The author of the *Panegyricus in Messalam* does it, and it inclines us to place him fairly early (though not necessarily before, say, 36 or 37 B.C.). So does the author of the *Culex*. Catullus does not do it in his Epyllion, but the first word of the second line betrays its Alexandrianism—'dicuntur' (κλείονται, φατίζονται—the attitude of a learned poet, who collects picturesque myths and looks at them from the outside as myths, instead of assuming the truth of the story).

One other remark: I know of no evidence or instance to show that it was a practice in ancient times to imitate very minutely the style of a past generation, to work in the vein of Chatterton, or to do what a modern verse-

<sup>1</sup> A Latin word forming a dispondeus, not a Greek proper name, as is usually the case in Augustan poetry (nobile Pallanteum).

writer does when he composes a piece in the manner of Lucretius or Catullus. It is true that epic verse after Virgil is very like Virgil, and elegiac verse after Ovid is very like Ovid. But that is a different thing. In Virgil and Ovid epic and elegiac verse attained maturity, what they wrote became a norm or exemplar. What was not done, or not done with any exactness or completeness, was to reproduce the manner or various mannerisms of a time when a form of poetry was immature. On this general ground alone I should almost venture to say that it is inconceivable that the *Ciris* was written after 20 B.C. It is perhaps conceivable that it was written in 30 B.C., if we suppose that some contemporary of Catullus, who had begun to write when Catullus did, but enjoyed a longer life, persisted in adherence to his first manner, and resolutely shut his eyes to the movements that had taken place in poetry since that time.<sup>1</sup>

From these general observations—introduced rather to justify explicitly my line of argument than to impart what will be new to the reader—I proceed to the examination of my new witness, the Present Participle in the Nominative Singular.

## I.

In an inquiry of this kind, it is necessary to define very exactly what one is looking for. One begins by counting loosely things which it is perhaps not very important to count. It is only when a good deal of counting has been done that the issue becomes clearer.

The inquiry started from the contemplation of lines like :

non storace Idaeo fragrantis picta capillos,  
coccina non teneris pedibus Sicyoniam seruant,  
non niveo retinens bacata monilia collo

(*Ciris* 168-170).

Here there are three things: a perfect participle (the clause occupying a whole line<sup>2</sup>): a present participle as the last word of a line: a present participle belonging to a participial clause which occupies the whole line.

A present participle as the last word of a line is a very conspicuous thing, and I counted in the first place instances of that, denoting it by P.

A participial clause which occupies a whole Hexameter is also a conspicuous thing, and I also counted that, calling it *p*:

amissum credens immiti Thesea fato.

I counted also such clauses when they occupied five or five and a half feet (*p*<sup>1</sup>):

(atque ita) naue leui nitens et lenibus auris,

<sup>1</sup> It is pointed out by Drachmann, in an article which I shall discuss later, that we should have to assume a writer who was unaffected by the revolution which Virgil had made in versification, and yet knew and admired Virgil so much as to introduce into his own poem whole lines

and phrases from Virgil's writings. It is not a supposition that can be taken seriously.

<sup>2</sup> Or nearly so, if we exclude the *non* as belonging to the general construction of the whole passage.

or four to four and a half feet ( $p^2$ ):

(quine fugit) lentos incuruans gurgite remos.

Clauses shorter than that it was fairly safe to neglect. They did not disappear or go out of fashion. The things I have enumerated one did feel to be rare in Augustan verse. What I counted here, under the heads  $p$ ,  $p^1$  and  $p^2$ , were participial clauses in general, including plurals, which in the nominative are sometimes really significant:

fluctibus in salsis uictum uitamque petentes,

and including participles in oblique cases, which are less important, for it began to be obvious that the Augustan poets did not shrink from them to the same extent or in any very notable degree. However, I do not now think them wholly unimportant, and I produce the statistics of  $p$ ,  $p^1$  and  $p^2$ . Little would be gained by recounting and subdividing minutely.

But when one had got as far as this, a new idea presented itself. It began to appear that what was most disliked—what the Augustan poets tended to avoid, whether consciously or half-consciously or unconsciously—was a participial clause which *followed* the main verb of the sentence. It is not difficult to see why this should be so. A subsequent participial clause has a certain weakness about it, it is a sort of appendage or ἐφολκίς. One saw that Virgil's rare present participles tended to precede the main verb:

lapidemque reuertens  
incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat  
(Georg. I. 274)

(‘reuertens’ is perhaps an echo of Lucretius). Thus it became desirable to count separately two things which resemble P and  $p$ , and are included under them, namely, a participle at the end of a line, preceded by the principal verb (II), and a participial clause which occupied a whole line and was preceded by the principal verb ( $\pi$ ). At this stage I counted only participles in the nominative singular. It had become evident by this time that it was mainly the nominative that excited some sort of repulsion. The line:

stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem

is obviously very different in effect from

ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans.

What I exhibit therefore in the table on p. 6 is five things which I have now explained: P;  $p$ ; the sum of  $p$ ,  $p^1$  and  $p^2$ ; II, and  $\pi$ .

It will be seen that the chief texts here reviewed (down to *Aen.* VIII.) have been arranged according to the results given in the first column—the frequency of P. But where that result puts a text late, the result in another column will often be found to put it early, e.g. the figure in the third column puts the *Ciris* below Cicero and Catullus only. And one large result stands



|                                     | P.                    | $p$ .                 | $p + p^1 + p^2$ .       | II.                   | $\pi$ .    |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Cic. <i>Aratea</i> , etc. (639)     | 1 in 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 in 18.2             | 1 in 10 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 1 in 42.6             | 1 in 40    |
| <i>Lydia</i> (80) ...               | 1 in 40               | 0                     | (1 in 80 <sup>?</sup> ) | 1 in 80               |            |
| <i>Culex</i> (414) ...              | 1 in 52               | 1 in 59               | 1 in 20.7               | 1 in 207              | 1 in 138   |
| Catullus, 64 (408) ...              | 1 in 68               | 1 in 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 in 8.3                | 1 in 136              | 1 in 34    |
| Lucr. V. (1457) ...                 | 1 in 76.6             | 1 in 104              | 1 in 56                 | 1 in 104              | 1 in 291.4 |
| <i>Lydia</i> and <i>Dirae</i> (183) | 1 in 91               | 1 in 183              |                         | 1 in 183              |            |
| Lucr. VI. (1286) ...                | 1 in 128              | 1 in 143              | 1 in 67.7               | 1 in 214              | 1 in 321.5 |
| <i>Ciris</i> (541) ...              | 1 in 135              | 1 in 32               | 1 in 15 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 1 in 270              | 1 in 108   |
| Germ. <i>Aratea</i> (725) ...       | 1 in 181              | 1 in 181              | 1 in 72.5               | 1 in 725              |            |
| Ovid, <i>Met.</i> VI. (721)         | 1 in 240              | 1 in 103              | 1 in 65.5 <sup>1</sup>  | 0                     |            |
| <i>Aeneid</i> I. (756) ...          | 1 in 252              |                       | 1 in 54                 | 1 in 756              | 1 in 126   |
| Georg. I.-IV. (2186) ...            | 1 in 263              | 1 in 169              | 1 in 65.5               | 1 in 729              | 1 in 364.3 |
| <i>Eclogues</i> (829) ...           | 1 in 414              | 1 in 207              | 1 in 82.9 <sup>2</sup>  | 1 in 829 <sup>3</sup> | 0          |
| <i>Aen.</i> VIII. (731) ...         | 1 in 731              | 1 in 91               | 1 in 61                 | 1 in 731              |            |
| <i>Moretum</i> (124) ...            | 0                     | 1 in 124              |                         | 0                     |            |
| <i>Dirae</i> (103) ...              | 0                     | 1 in 103              | 1 in 34                 | 0                     | 1 in 103   |
| <i>Paneg. Mess.</i> (231) ...       | 0                     | 1 in 77               |                         | 0                     |            |
| <i>Aetna</i> (646) ...              | 0                     | 0                     | 1 in 646                | 0                     |            |
| <i>Cyneg.</i> (540) ...             | 0                     |                       |                         | 0                     |            |
| <i>Laus Pisonis</i> (261) ...       | 0                     |                       |                         | 0                     |            |

out very plainly. Let us contemplate two large groups, drawing a line across the table just below the *Ciris*. It is obvious at a glance that there is a great difference between the poems above that line and those below it. (It should perhaps be pointed out as a reservation that poems so short as the *Dirae* or *Moretum* hardly admit of comparison with the *Ciris* or Lucr. VI., in which participles occur at intervals greater than their total length).

The arrangement arrived at in column 1, on the basis of P, is in substantial agreement with the two more important of the remaining columns, the third and fourth. With column 4 (II) the agreement is complete. In column 3 ( $p + p^1 + p^2$ ) there is only one figure above the line—for Lucr. VI.—that would be in place below it; and only two below it that would be in place above it. Of the latter, one is the figure for the *Dirae*; a doubtful matter, perhaps, owing to the shortness of the poem, but of the last six poems on the list it is the *Dirae* that has much the best claim to an earlier date. The other is the figure for *Aeneid* I., a book which in various passages has perhaps a more archaic and Ennian air than others; in *Aeneid* II. the numbers for P and II are exactly the same as in I. (three instances of P, only one of them II), while examples of  $p$ ,  $p^1$  and  $p^2$  seem to be very few.

It seems to me to be proved, on the whole, that participial endings and

<sup>1</sup> In all the eleven cases the participial clause precedes the main verb.

<sup>2</sup> This infrequency may be set down to the fact that the *Eclogues* are a dramatic form of composition. Participial clauses belong chiefly to description and narration (description in Cicero's *Aratea*: narration, in Lucr. VI., where they become more frequent in the narrative of

the plague at Athens); they are less likely to occur in conversation. But description or narration, of course, does not compel their use: compare Germanicus with Cicero, the *Aeneid* with Catullus or the *Ciris*.

<sup>3</sup> This solitary specimen (*Ecl.* X. 25) is an echo of Lucretius (IV. 587).

participial clauses fell into disfavour with the advent of the Augustan age. The participial ending P is still in disfavour in the time of Nero. In six books of the *Pharsalia* the proportion is 1 in 272, or about the same as in Ovid—for the figure given above for Ovid, 1 in 240, does not represent the *Metamorphoses* quite accurately, a wider survey pointing rather to 1 in 300. In the epic of Domitian's reign there is a revival of participial endings, due probably to the fact that Virgil had not excluded them. In Valerius Flaccus, books V., VI. and VII., the proportion is 1 in 124, in books I.-IV. of the *Thebais* of Statius it is 1 in 116. In Juvenal they are extremely rare: I find only four in the first eight satires (2,169 lines): I. 165 (Lucilius ardens—but 'ardens' is rather an adjective than a participle here), III. 49 (et cui feruens), 233 (et haerens | ardenti stomacho), VII. 152 (haec eadem stans). Here it may be suggested that rhetoric helped to drive them out; for an ending in a participle is an ending in something of subordinate importance and therefore ineffective. Latin prose also rather disliked a present participle in the nominative; but I do not know whether this has been investigated, and I have no facts or statistics to offer.

As regards the *Ciris* and *Culex*, the outcome of the participial criterion is to put them early. Of course it does not give us an exact date—it may be said to point to some such time as 50-45 B.C.—nor is it in itself a conclusive proof. The conclusion will become more and more cogent if other criteria yield a similar result.

## II.

It is now clear, I hope, why some cogency can be claimed for the use of the participle as a criterion of date. It is a perceptible or recognizable feature of verse; and it is a feature or mannerism which gradually died out. Are there other tests like it? Antecedently, we might hope to find something similar happening in the case of the trochaic caesura, as in:

Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,

for this is a metrical effect for which Latin had little liking, just as it had little liking for the 'bucolic' division or diaeresis, as in:

omnia uel medium fiant mare. uiuite, siluae.

One of the most familiar facts (though it is not often set out very clearly or explicitly) is that the Greek hexameter differs very widely from the Latin in regard to these two cadences. It is largely owing to the frequency of the trochaic division that the hexameter of Homer is so different from Virgil's, so much lighter and more rapid in its movement:

ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὧς κε νέηαι

or

ὑβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε · σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν

(where the bucolic division is seen also). In the first hundred lines of the *Iliad*

there are forty-eight which have the trochaic division quite unmistakably.<sup>1</sup> It might be called the 'Homeric' caesura. In Virgil it is really very infrequent. Similarly, the bucolic division is infrequent, even in the *Eclogues*. In the *Eclogues* it is found in one line of every ten. In Theocritus it occurs in every second line, and sometimes in two lines out of three. Did the Roman poets *gradually* eject or discard these cadences? It would be quite in keeping with the history of metre generally at Rome if they did.

There are three divisions of a hexameter which are vital to the very nature of the verse, the penthemimeral, trochaic and hephthemimeral caesurae. A hexameter must have one of them, if it is to be a legitimate hexameter at all.<sup>2</sup> It will save printing if we designate these places in the line by the letters *p*, *t* and *h*. Besides these, there are divisions which, without being vital, may be of much importance for the general effect or cadence of the line; in particular the trihemimeral division, and the bucolic diaeresis. I propose to take some account of the latter, calling it *b*. This distinction between vital divisions and divisions which are only important is very elementary, but it is not always set out explicitly by writers on metre, and I premise it here for the sake of clearness. The discussion of *t* leads at once to the discussion of *h*, for there are lines in which some critics find one and some the other. And this leads to the question of the proportion of *t* or *h* or both to *p*. In determining where the vital caesura falls, *the* caesura of the line, we must be guided, I contend, by the sense of the passage or the rhetoric or whatever we choose to call it; sometimes the punctuation makes it obvious; it is *not* metre or *μετρική* that can tell us where it is, in particular lines; *μετρική* can only classify or define the three vital effects and the other subordinate ones. Thus in the lines

hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens  
terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis,

I regard the hephthemimeral division as the dominant or real or characteristic one. It is true that there is the end of a word at *p*; but that is a fact of very little importance for the reader.<sup>3</sup>

It may seem unnecessary to set out things as elementary as these. But it is not. It is in fact necessitated, in my view, by recent treatment of the subject, treatment so extraordinary that it is difficult to use moderate language about it. One of the delinquents is no less eminent an authority than Norden,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are also half a dozen more like

νοῦσαν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακὴν, δλέκοντο δὲ λαοί  
or Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύο, κοσμήτορε λαῶν,

which I count as hephthemimeral and not as 'trochaic.'

<sup>2</sup> Hexameters which fall into two equal parts, like Ennius'

spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur,

are so very rare as to be altogether negligible for this inquiry.

<sup>3</sup> Of course it is not a fact of absolutely no importance at all. It means that the line is *not* exactly like 'obstupuit simul Aeneas . . .'

<sup>4</sup> From an article by A. B. Drachmann in *Hermes* (vol. 43, p. 412) I learn that Meyer was the originator of the method. Drachmann himself adopts Meyer's rules, 'though I am not quite convinced that they are right.'



who in a metrical appendix to his edition of *Aen.* VI. gives us a list of lines that have 'weibliche Hauptcaesur' or 'trochaic' division. They include

(finibus omnes)

haud mora prosilueresuis | ferit aethera clamor

and

litora deseruere; latet sub classibus aequor.

*Both* of these! *Both* have 'weibliche Hauptcaesur'! To my ear the second is 'Homeric' in effect, the first is not. The first is frequent in Virgil, the second strikes a reader (if I am at all a normal reader) as, for Virgil, quite unusual in its rhythm. Inspired perhaps (or, as I think, misled) by this example of Norden, an English scholar, Mr. W. G. D. Butcher, has made an elaborate study of the 'Caesura in Virgil' (*Classical Quarterly*, April, 1914), in which 'trochaic' and other types of line are counted. Somewhere in Mr. Butcher's mind there were misgivings about the rightness of the method, and he set himself to justify it—it is a method which will obviously result in finding a great many *more* 'trochaic' lines than I am prepared to recognize. 'Ancient writers differ,' he says, 'as to whether the trochaic or the hephthemimeral caesura should take precedence, and in modern criticism great names, such as Meyer and Müller, may be found on opposite sides. Either caesura can stand alone, and though the hephthemimeral is found alone more frequently than the trochaic, its superiority in this respect is insufficient to determine the question of precedence.' (It may be 'insufficient,' but that is not a positive reason for doing the opposite—for giving the precedence to the trochaic.)

'Perhaps the best argument in favour of the trochaic caesura,' he proceeds, 'is that it is natural to accept the first available caesura in the verse. For instance, in a line beginning:

infandum, regina

we have no certainty that another caesura will follow'—no doubt you have not, at the moment, but in a fraction of a second the matter will be settled one way or the other!—'so that we should naturally adopt the first caesura as the principal one, and consider any other that may follow as subsidiary.' 'In the following analysis therefore we shall accept the penthemimeral as the normal type; failing that the trochaic; and only when both are absent shall we allow the hephthemimeral to be the main caesura. This is the most convenient arrangement, though in a large measure arbitrary.'

Mr. Butcher has not succeeded in stifling his own doubts. 'Arbitrary' it certainly is. The reason given is no reason at all. It means that the critic or reader is to be so furiously impatient that in the case of

et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando

he will not wait till he hears or sees the word 'fui,' but must at once set down the line as trochaic. Let us see what comes of this method.

If lines like this or like

non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum

(which is Mr. Butcher's example) are to count as 'trochaic,' trochaic lines will be very numerous. Mr. Butcher's table gives them as 1,156 in the *Aeneid*, the total number of lines in the poem being 9,878; that is roughly one line in every nine. If the reader met with lines of 'Homeric' cadence as often as that, he would not feel the vast difference which I think he does feel between Homer and Virgil. That, however, is a rather vague objection. When we come to *h*, hephthemimeral lines, the result given is much more startling. There are only 371 of them! Naturally; for Mr. Butcher counts a line as *h* only when there is no point before *h* at which it *can* be divided. That is 3·7 per cent. of the total number of lines, or about one line in twenty-seven. And of course all the rest are *p*—all are *p* except *t* and *h* and two lines which appear to have no obvious or ordinary caesura. *p* comes to 8,349 lines; and here I definitely refuse to follow or agree. It is 84·5 per cent. of the total. But Virgil has always been credited with great and subtle variety of cadence. It is one of his chief merits, and any reader can feel it. But if 84·5 per cent. of his lines are really of one metrical type, the variety is gone. He is convicted of conspicuous monotony. The hexameters of Catullus *are* monotonous in their cadence; those of Virgil are not, and in passing to him the unprejudiced reader must perceive a great difference, a great advance. The statistical result then is one which effaces a real and vital difference.

I quite admit that Mr. Butcher's method has the advantage of definiteness. It is possible to say with complete accuracy how many lines have the end of a word at *p*. I do not doubt that there are 8,349 of them in the *Aeneid*. But it is not a useful fact, it is merely a curiosity of enumeration. It has no real significance.

What I propose to substitute for this method is one which it is much more difficult to apply. The things to be counted are not all simple and certain. There are lines about which readers or critics will differ. Where is the more marked division, at *p* or *h*? There are some lines in which it seems impossible to say e.g.

heu quantae miseris | caedes | Laurentibus instant

or

purpurei cristis | iuuenes | auroque corusci.

I see no solution; I designate such lines as *ph*, meaning that they are lines which have either division or both. Similarly there may be hesitation between *t* and *th*.

euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca (*Aen.* VIII. 253)

—that, I think, is *th*, but I am prepared to call it *t*. Or again:

addiderat, subitoque nouum consurgere bellum

Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque seueris (*ib.* 637-8)

—here the first line I am inclined to designate *th*, but, to be safe and to take no advantage in the discussion, I will agree to call it *t*; the second line I am not prepared to call either *th* or *t*; it seems to me to be simply *h*. These lines, as

it happens, have a *que* at the critical point. I do not believe that the *que* was sufficiently detached from the word before it to give a penthemimeral caesura, but I know that it has been maintained. (It would not, if it were admitted, impair my contention, that the cadence *t* is rare. On the contrary, it would sweep away at one blow a large number of *th*'s.) Here are examples without *que* :

iamque tibi, ne uana | putes | haec fingere somnum (*Aen.* VIII. 42)  
inflauit cum pinguis | ebur | Tyrrhenus ad aras (*Georg.* II. 193).

Both of these, I find, I have marked *th*, and I see no way of getting further; I simply leave them in that category. In the line

conuellunt; immota manet multosque nepotes (*Georg.* II. 294)

I myself feel the effect to be mainly *h*, but in order to proceed with caution I have set the line down as *th*.

What then are the results of the alternative method—which consists, briefly, in reclaiming for the hephthemimeral caesura its right to be felt or heard? In the first one hundred lines of *Aen.* VI. I find twenty lines which seem to me quite clearly *h*. In case the reader wishes to test the procedure and to see whether he agrees with it—that is, of course, if any reader has had the patience to follow the argument as far as this point—I give the numbers of the lines which I so reckon: they are 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 18, 20, 24, 40, 44, 52, 59, 72, 73, 77, 88, 98, 99, 100. Twenty per cent. would mean some 2,000 *h*'s in the *Aeneid*. But a wider survey points to a somewhat higher percentage in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* :

|                                             |        |                |
|---------------------------------------------|--------|----------------|
| <i>Eclogues</i> IV.-IX., l. 15 (500 lines)  | ...    | 12·6 per cent. |
| <i>Georg.</i> II. 1-500                     | ... .. | 25·4 „         |
| <i>Aen.</i> VIII.-IX., l. 269 (1,000 lines) | ...    | 25·8 „         |

If this estimate may be trusted, it points to a total for *h* of some 2,500 lines in the *Aeneid*. Now if we add to this *t* and *th*, 1·8 and 2·6, that is 4·4, and add also *ph*, which I make 5·8, we arrive at 36·0 per cent. as the total number of lines which are *not p*, or in the whole of the *Aeneid* some 3,500 lines.<sup>1</sup> *p* comes to 64 per cent. This is an entirely credible result. It leaves unshaken our belief that Virgil in his treatment of the hexameter made a great advance in variety of cadence. Mr. Butcher's results efface this fact completely. Here are his percentages for *p*: *Ecl.* 85·8, *Georg.* 86·4, *Aen.* 84·5: Pseudo-

<sup>1</sup> This result I believe to be substantially sound, and as accurate as can be looked for. Substantially sound, because there is no reason to think that Virgil's manner in the 1,000 lines selected was different from his manner in other parts of the *Aeneid*. He had already written the *Georgics*, and his style was mature. As accurate as can be expected, because the attempt to count all the lines in the *Aeneid* would not result in absolute precision and certainty. Some lines

marked *ph* might seem to be *p* on a second scrutiny or if considered by another critic, and some marked *p* turn out to be *ph*; some marked *th* might be finally relegated to *h*. Callimachus' maxim must be kept in mind:

μη μετρεῖν σχολὴν Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην

—if the words meant that it is unsafe to apply a footrule to poetry.



Virgiliana: *Lydia* 93, *Dirae* 92, *Moretum* 84, *Aetna* 82, *Ciris* 88, *Culex* 84.<sup>1</sup> The method means counting things which are either too numerous or too few to yield any inference. Too few, sometimes: for example, he deals with the number of *p*'s that are accompanied by elision, saying in support of the Virgilian authorship of the *Culex* 'elided penthemimeral caesurae are rare as in the *Eclogues*.' His numbers no doubt bear this out. But what are they? Elided *p*'s are: *Lydia* 1, *Dirae* 1, *Moretum* 0, *Aetna* (644 lines) 9, *Ciris* (541 lines) 9, *Culex* (412 lines) 2: *Eclogues* 4, in 830 lines. Are there differences here that mean anything? Perhaps there are: I think the higher numbers in the case of the *Aetna* and *Ciris* are due to the fact that one of these is a didactic poem and the other a heroic epyllion, while the other pieces are pastorals. For the *Lydia*, *Dirae* and *Moretum* together the number is 2 in 305 lines. Elided *p* was an effect which the writer of a pastoral did not cultivate, but did not shrink from either, if once or twice it came in his way.

Before producing statistics arrived at on my rival method—from which I do not promise anything important or conclusive regarding the *dates* of undated poems—I briefly examine the treatment which has been accorded to the 'bucolic' diaeresis, which seems to me to have been wrong in precisely the same way as Mr. Butcher's treatment of *p*, *t* and *h*.

In regard to the bucolic division, the original delinquent appears to have been Hartel, who is followed by Gleditsch (*Metrik*, p. 119), and Mr. Mooney in his recent edition of the *Argonautica* has over-estimated the bucolic lines in a similar way. Gleditsch accepts from Hartel the statement that in Homer 60 per cent. of the lines have bucolic division. Now this amount cannot be arrived at without counting things like ἐλάρια | τεύχε κύνεσσιν, in which I refuse to see a bucolic effect. In the first 100 lines of the *Iliad* (Oxford text) I find 6 bucolic divisions or *b*'s marked by punctuation, and 25 that can be counted as fairly clear—31 in all, or about half of Hartel's percentage. In the first book of Apollonius Mr. Mooney puts *b* at about 62 per cent. (observe again how these methods efface differences! Homer and Apollonius come out alike). In the first 200 lines of his text I find 41 marked by punctuation (i.e. there is at least a comma at the end of the fourth foot). Fifty-seven more lines I am prepared to regard as 'bucolic,' though sometimes rather doubtfully. So I get a total of at most 98, or 49 per cent. Thus Homer and Apollonius appear to differ quite perceptibly. Callimachus is exactly like Apollonius, and it is only in some of the poems of Theocritus that percentages well over 60 come to light.

The Hartelian method is obviously the same in principle as Mr. Butcher's. It means counting as 'bucolic' lines in which there is the end of a word at the end of the fourth foot, including lines like

<sup>1</sup> In Catullus LXIV., on my method of reckoning, *p* amounts to 82.7 per cent. In the *Ciris* and *Laus Pisonis* it is about 80 per cent. In other Latin poems the percentage does not depart

widely from the Virgilian one, i.e. it is about 64. Catullus had a very strong preference for the rhythm 'prognátae vértice pínus,' which excludes *h*.

or χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ.

οἰωνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἦδ' ἔμπυρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι.<sup>1</sup>

On this principle, 'atque altae moenia Romae' would be a bucolic ending, and Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* would prove to be one of the most 'bucolic' poems in the Latin language, for there are in it multitudes of lines with a word-ending at the end of the fourth foot. 'Peliaco quondam prognatae | uertice pinus,' a bucolic line! Catullus' poem might even prove to be more 'bucolic' than the *Bucolica* of Virgil.

I count *b* on the same principle as *p*, *t* and *h*, looking for a pause or division such as a normal reader, attending carefully to the sense and construction, would be aware of. Here, again, it must be admitted that the same degree of exactness is not attainable. Readers would differ about a particular line, whether it is to count as *b* or not. But they would not differ often enough to make the general result doubtful, and that this was the method of the Romans themselves, or at all events of some Roman critics, seems almost capable of proof.

The Hartelian method would find a very large number of *b*'s in the *Eclogues*, and if this meant anything that is real for the reader little or no difference would be felt between Virgil and Theocritus. But the ancients did feel a difference; they thought that Virgil had *not* followed Theocritus in his frequent use of bucolic division. Terentianus Maurus says that Theocritus has the effect in abundance:

plurimus hoc pollet Siculae telluris alumnus,

but that Virgil makes a sparing use of it:

noster eo rarus pastor Maro, sed tamen inquit  
'dic mihi, Damoetas, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?'

So too Atilius (c. 21): 'Theocritus hanc metri legem custodiuit, *Vergilius contempsit*.' What Virgil precisely did will be shown by my statistics. The statement of Atilius is quoted by Christ, but Christ has not profited by it, for he falls into one of the subsidiary errors which result from Hartel's principle. After mentioning that in Greek a dactyl usually precedes the bucolic division, he adds 'a similar preference is not provable in Roman poets.' Of course it is not, if lines like

molli paullatim flauescet campus arista

are to count as bucolic, for many Roman poets had a liking for this type of line. But the really bucolic lines in Virgil almost always have a dactyl in the fourth foot.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *ἐμπυρα* naturally goes closely with *σήματα*. Between it and *σήματα* there is a slightly less severance than between *σήματα* and *ἰδέσθαι*. It may be thought that elision has a connecting effect, and makes *σήματ' ἰδέσθαι* into a group; but that effect is doubtful, and I think, if it exists, balanced by the close connection between *ἐμπυρα* and *σήματα*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ecl.* III. 15 is one of the rare exceptions. The line quoted above is in the Fourth *Eclogue*. In that *Eclogue* there is not a single example of *b*, as I reckon *b*'s. In this I see a further confirmation of my position. For *Ecl.* IV. ought to be very different from the others: it is not a pastoral or dramatic idyll at all.

In surveying a large number of lines with the view of distinguishing *h* from *p*, one found many lines in which the symmetrical position of an adjective and its noun seemed to determine the structure. Thus in the line

irrita uentosae | linquens promissa procellae

*p* seemed to be indicated; or, again, in

candida permulcens | liquidis uestigia lymphis

the division 'candida permulcens liquidis | uestigia lymphis' seemed unnatural, and this line also counted as *p*. There are many types of such symmetrical arrangement, and they are frequent in all Latin verse. Examples are as easily found in Catullus as in Claudian. It did not seem worth while to examine them all. I noted those in which the adjective came just before *p* and the substantive at the end of the line, using for this the symbol A. A poet who has this arrangement frequently is sure to have several of the others frequently also. Besides A, I noted only the variant of it in which adjective and substantive change places, calling this A<sup>1</sup>. There is only one example of it in the *Peleus* and *Thetis*:

Nec Thetidis taedas uoluit celebrare iugalis,

and some poets seem to avoid it altogether.

The adjoining table gives the percentages which I arrive at for the various things which I have now described. Except for A and A<sup>1</sup>, which are very definite things, the figures are only approximate, but I believe that they

|                                                                  | <i>h</i> .<br>% | <i>h + p h</i> . | <i>t</i> . | <i>t + t h</i> . | <i>b</i> . | A.    | A <sup>1</sup> . |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|-------|------------------|
| Ennius (359 lines surveyed)                                      | 22.2            | 25.6             | 7.8        | 9.7              |            |       |                  |
| Cicero, <i>Aratea</i> (480 l.) ...                               | 13.9            | 23.1             | 3.12       | 3.33             | 2.5        | 6.25  | 0.83             |
| Catullus LXIV. (408) ...                                         | 5.63            | 10.5             | 6.86       | 6.86             | 0.73       | 17.89 | 0.24             |
| Lucr. V. 1-500 ...                                               | 24.4            | 29.8             | 5.8        | 6.6              | 1.4        | 2.2   | 0.2              |
| Virgil, <i>Ecl.</i> IV.-IX. 15 (500)                             | 12.6            | 20.4             | 6.6        | 8.4              | 10.0       | 13.2  | 0.8              |
| „ <i>Georg.</i> II. 1-500 ...                                    | 25.4            | 31.8             | 3.8        | 6.2              | 3.4        | 11.0  | 1.8              |
| „ <i>Aen.</i> VIII.-IX. 269<br>(1,000 l.) ...                    | 25.8            | 31.6             | 1.8        | 4.4              | 2.2        | 7.7   | 1.7              |
| Calpurnius, <i>Ecl.</i> I-VI. 18<br>(500 l.) ...                 | 10.6            | 15.6             | 3.8        | 5.8              | 7.6        | 29.2  | 0.8              |
| Statius, <i>Theb.</i> VI. 1-250, and<br><i>Ach.</i> I. 1-250 ... | 20.8            | 22.8             | 4.4        | 9.2              | 1.0        | 17.8  | 0.1              |
| <i>Ciris</i> (541) ...                                           | 7.58            | 13.68            | 4.80       | 7.02             | 1.85       | 23.66 | 1.66             |
| <i>Culex</i> (414) ...                                           | 22.0            | 26.6             | 3.86       | 6.52             | 6.52       | 13.77 | 0.72             |
| <i>Lydia</i> (80) ...                                            | 13.7            | 28.7             | 1.25       | 2.5              | 2.5        | 16.25 | 0                |
| <i>Dirae</i> (103) ...                                           | 20.4            | 25.2             | 3.88       | 5.82             | 7.76       | 17.47 | 0                |
| <i>Paneg. Messalae</i> (211) ...                                 | 10.4            | 15.6             | 5.2        | 7.11             | 2.37       | 39.8  | 0                |
| <i>Moretum</i> (122) ...                                         | 14.8            | 20.5             | 4.92       | 8.19             | 0.82       | 22.9  | 2.46             |
| Germ. <i>Aratea</i> , 1-500 ...                                  | 25.2            | 30.6             | 3.2        | 4.4              | 4.4        | 7.4   | 0.2              |
| <i>Laus Pisonis</i> (261) ...                                    | 12.26           | 15.32            | 4.21       | 4.25             | 3.83       | 23.0  | 1.15             |
| <i>Aetna</i> , 1-500 ...                                         | 29.4            | 30.2             | 6.2        | 8.4              | 1.8        | 10.2  | 0                |



answer to real differences. Like many metrical statistics they often tell us only what was more or less known before and what could be observed by a careful reader. But that is better than telling us what no reader could by any possibility observe at all. They tell us more about different *genera poematum* than about the date of any undated poem.

Didactic and epic poems admit *h* very freely, and they disdain the rather mechanical *A*. The variety of cadence achieved by Virgil is shown by the figures for *h*. But of course the mere figures do not differentiate him from Lucretius. In Virgil, the variety was more a matter of art, more subtle and deliberate. The place of the caesura moves, as it were, in a group of lines, so that some kind of connected cadence or structure can be felt to run through them; lines that stand by themselves and form a complete grammatical sentence are rare, one line leads to the next, and the lines of a paragraph are welded into a harmonious whole. Sentences are short, and adapted to metrical moulds, the moulds being not whole lines but parts of a line. Such effects are not absent in Lucretius, but in Lucretius it is often the necessity of the argument that brings variety. The poet who has had a late division at *h* in one line has not enough space for what he has to say before *p* in the next line. To point out this difference in technique is not to deny that Lucretius is a great poet.

The *Panegyrics* are monotonous: *h* is infrequent and *A* is very frequent. The reader wonders whether Messala's eulogist was paid by the line; he has a digression on Ulysses which would have justified Messala in following the example of the Thessalian chief who refused payment to Simonides.

Neither *t* nor *b*—in the Homeric and Theocritean sense, a pause so perceptible as often to be marked by a comma or other stop—ever had any real vogue at Rome, except that *b* does find a place in pastorals: Virgil 10 per cent., the *Dirae* 7·76, Calpurnius 7·6, the *Culex* 6·52—after these there is a gap, and the next number is 4·4. It is true, as the Romans observed, that Virgil did not follow Theocritus in his use of the bucolic division. But he was too subtle an artist in verse to neglect it. What he did was to make it just frequent enough to be noticed, to remind the reader of the cadence of his predecessor. The number for the *Culex* associates that poem with the *Eclogues* and the *Dirae*, but it also associates it with Calpurnius, and though it is not a pastoral like the others it is distinctly pastoral in its general character. Whether the writer of it had a pastoral effect in view, however, may be doubted. He has a general tendency to end a sentence late in the line, and he has six *b*'s in twelve lines in a passage which is not pastoral at all, but is a narrative (very much out of place in its context) of the homeward voyage of the Greeks from Troy (341-352).

The figures for the *Ciris* seem to show that its versification resembles that of Catullus more closely than it does that of Virgil. The infrequency of *h* (7·58) perhaps points to an early date. It is akin to Catullus also in its fairly frequent *σπονδαίοντες*. The *Culex*, on the other hand, seems to stand nearer

to Virgil than to Catullus. The resemblance does not prove it to be Virgil's, but, as far as versification is concerned, it may be admitted that there is nothing that is *against* Virgilian authorship.

Several metrical criteria were discussed by Skutsch in *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, a book which inspired, or gave interest to, this whole inquiry. But he deals with them rather briefly (p. 68). His survey is often too limited. To survey a hundred lines only is precarious; five hundred is not too much to eliminate chance. The statistics which he gives for caesuras I now see to be on the lines of the Meyer-Norden-Butcher method. He finds 'männliche Caesur im dritten Fuss'—it is quite clear that he means 'Hauptcaesur'—in eighty-nine out of a hundred lines of Virgil. He proceeds to statistics for elision, a thing more easily counted; I have made no further scrutiny of this, and I have nothing to add to what I said about it in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. 31, p. 277). Finally he deals with the occurrence of the *σπονδειαίρων*, a test which more clearly than others points to some such date as 50 B.C. for the composition of the *Ciris*. On this also I commented in the same article of the *Journ. of Phil.*, reinforcing it and adding one or two minor facts. Some years later (in 1908) Drachmann of Copenhagen contributed to *Hermes* (vol. 43, p. 405 sq.) an interesting article on the *Cirisfrage*, in which he discusses metrical criteria among others. He has valuable observations on diction and grammar; and here he mentions participles in the *Ciris*, but dismisses the present participle in a sentence, 'Das Part. Praes. ist häufig, wie bei Catull und Lucrez,' without tracking it down in the morphology of verse, as I have attempted to do in the preceding pages. His most important contribution to the metrical inquiry is an investigation into the frequency with which the end of a line is also the end of a period or sentence or clause. His results under all three heads are instructive, most clearly perhaps those which fall under the second—'Satzschluss und Versschluss fallen zusammen.' His table gives the following figures (I rearrange the order of them): Cic. *Aratea* 50.3 per cent., Catullus LXIV. 50.8 per cent., Lucretius about 50 per cent. (two different sections of Lucretius' text yield different results, 56.7 and 46.4 per cent.), *Ciris* 51.3, *Culex* 41.3, *Georgics* 34.8, *Aeneid* 27.7 per cent.<sup>1</sup> The *Ciris* is associated with the poetry of the Ciceronian age, and the *Culex* comes between that poetry and Virgil. Here then is another line of inquiry that points to some such dates as 50 and 45 B.C., for the *Ciris* and *Culex* respectively. It should be added, however, that Drachmann's table does not show a continuous and uniform change throughout. There are indications of a rise after Virgil—

<sup>1</sup> What Drachmann surveys is a tract of two or three hundred lines in each case, not necessarily consecutive, for he limits himself to narrative or description, avoiding speeches. This seems a sound precaution. It is specially in regard to the relation of sentences to verses that dramatic parts would differ from narrative. Of

course some poets show greater skill than others in differentiating them. It is not, I think, a very important consideration for the texts I have dealt with above. I have been content to take rather larger tracts of text (usually not less than 500 lines).

Ovid 38·9 per cent. The highest figure is for the *Paneg. ad Messalam* 68·4 per cent., and the figure for the *Moretum* is 47·2 per cent. Messala's eulogist, we may perhaps suppose, is a writer who has discarded the mannerisms of the Ciceronian age *without* learning the Virgilian lesson of variety in cadence. We have seen that he has a strong tendency to what I designate A (which often does mean the end of a sentence at the end of the line).<sup>1</sup>

I have summarized Drachmann's investigation because it seems to me a good example of the kind of inquiry that is really profitable. What he surveys is a thing that is a real feature or characteristic of versification, a thing of which neither poet nor reader can be unaware. The result is not a mere statistical curiosity, like the number of lines in which there is the end of a word at *p*.

The general conclusion which I come to is that there is enough evidence of this really significant kind to make very probable or almost certain what I have more than once stated above—some such date as 50 and 45 B.C. for the *Ciris* and *Culex* respectively. But to prove that is not to prove that they are Virgil's. The metrical inquiry leaves *that* still quite uncertain, and many other considerations come into view. I propose to discuss it once more, with special reference to the *Culex*, in view of the fact that a belief in the Virgilian authorship of the *Culex* has recently found favour in this country.

#### NOTE.

One other test which I have tried may be mentioned. The results are very slight, though not perhaps exactly *nil*.

How often does the writer end his line with a pure trochee, a word like *antrā* or *armā* (a short vowel, not an ending like *tendis* or *armat*)? The poems that have this ending most frequently are the *Dirae* and *Lydia*: in them it occurs<sup>2</sup> in one line out of every five (=20 per cent. of the lines). Here is the order: *Dirae*, 1 in 5; *Lydia*, 1 in 5; *Paneg. Mess.*, 1 in 7·8; *Culex*, 1 in 8·8; Catullus LXIV., 1 in 10·6; *Georgics* IV., 1 in 10·9; *Aetna*, 1 in 11·5; Ovid, *Met.* VII., 1 in 12; Cicero, 1 in 13; *Ciris*, 1 in 13·2; *Ecl.*, 1 in 14·3; *Aen.* I. 1-500, 1 in 17·2. The *Dirae*, *Lydia*, *Paneg. Messalae* and *Culex* seem almost to form a group by themselves. But the significance of this is somewhat impaired by a fact about *Georg.* IV. In the epyllion, the story of Aristaeus, Orpheus and Eurydice, the proportion is 1 in 80.

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<sup>1</sup> Drachmann deals briefly with a similar thing, lines in which two adjectives and two substantives are symmetrically placed, such as 'Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes' (ab A B) and 'indomito nec dira ferens stipendia tauro' (ab B A). His results are: *Ciris*, 15·5 per cent.; Catullus LXIV., 14·5; *Eclogues*, 4·7; *Georg.* I. and IV., 6·1 (*Hermes* 43, p. 418). My results for

A so far agree with this that they put the *Ciris* and Catullus in one group and the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in another. They also, it may be noted, associate the *Culex* with the *Eclogues*, and would put it slightly before them in time—if we limit our view to this sequence of five, Cat., *Ciris*, *Culex*, *Ecl.*, *Georgics*.

<sup>2</sup> As it does in Homer.



## HIRSCHFELD AND JUDEICH ON THE *LEX* *POMPEIA LICINIA*.

BEFORE the year 1857, when Mommsen published his celebrated treatise *Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat*, most scholars believed that Caesar's provincial command legally expired at the end of 49 B.C.; but Mommsen demonstrated the falsity of this opinion, and for nearly half a century it was an article of faith that the date fixed was the 1st of March. I may remark parenthetically that, although this date is usually quoted, it would be more correct to say the 28th of February. In 1904, however, Otto Hirschfeld gave reasons for believing that Caesar's command was not expressly secured beyond March 1, 50<sup>1</sup>; and although Ludwig Holzapfel vigorously defended the orthodox view,<sup>2</sup> Hirschfeld remained for several years in possession of the field. In 1913 Walther Judeich,<sup>3</sup> while admitting that Hirschfeld had worsted Mommsen, argued, 'convincingly' as Mr. F. E. Adcock thinks,<sup>4</sup> that the date was December 29, 50. The writers of the article on Latin Literature in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (1915), noticing the reissue of the third volume of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, remark that 'the authors [Tyrrell and Purser] still hold the pious faith that Caesar's command in Gaul was to run out on the 1st of March in 49; it is a pity,' they add, 'in view of Hirschfeld and the rest, that they have not shown the English reader their grounds for that belief.' I propose in this article to give mine for sharing it.<sup>5</sup>

All scholars agree that a passage in Cicero's speech *De provinciis consularibus*<sup>6</sup> proves that the five years for which Caesar was originally appointed terminated on February 28, 54 B.C. The extension of his command, provided for at the conference of Luca and confirmed by Pompey and Crassus in the following year, was to last, according to Cicero,<sup>7</sup> Velleius,<sup>8</sup> Plutarch,<sup>9</sup> Appian,<sup>10</sup> and Suetonius,<sup>11</sup> for another five years; but Dio<sup>12</sup> affirmed, as the result of his researches, that it had been limited to three. Dio, however, in another passage,<sup>13</sup> attributes to Antony the statement that Caesar was forced to return

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, 1904, pp. 76-87; 1905, pp. 236-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 107-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 1-10.

<sup>4</sup> *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1914, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> I took account of Hirschfeld's view, in so far as it bore upon a passage in *B.G.*, viii, 39, 3, in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 832-4, and of

Judeich's in my edition of the *Bellum Gallicum* (1914, pp. 388-9).

<sup>6</sup> 15, 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Att.* vii. 7, 6; 9, 4; *Phil.* ii. 10, 24.

<sup>8</sup> ii. 46, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Pomp.* 51-2; *Cras.*, 15; *Caes.*, 21.

<sup>10</sup> *B.C.*, ii. 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> *Divus Iulius*, 24.

<sup>12</sup> xxxix. 33, 3; xlv. 43, 2. Cf. xl. 59, 3.

<sup>13</sup> xlv. 43, 1.

to Italy before the lawful time, and so far confirms the tradition which assigned a legal duration of ten years to Caesar's proconsulship. If, then, the date fixed by Mommsen—March 1, or rather February 28, 49—is to be rejected, the reasons must be strong. Before we examine them it may be well to recall certain facts that are closely related to the question.

As Hirschfeld,<sup>1</sup> following Mommsen,<sup>2</sup> has observed, a letter which Caelius wrote to Cicero in 51 B.C. proves that the *lex Pompeia Licinia* contained a clause providing that the question of appointing a successor to Caesar should not be discussed before March 1, 50:—(*illa praeterea Cn. Pompeii sunt animaduersa . . . ut) diceret se ante Kalend. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de prouinciis Caesaris statuere.*<sup>3</sup> Now under the *lex Sempronia* of 123 the Senate was obliged to decide before the consular elections what provinces should be assigned to the consuls after their year of office had expired.<sup>4</sup> It follows that, as Hirschfeld observes,<sup>5</sup> Caesar's successor would be one of the consuls elected in July, 50, and could not arrive in Gaul until after the close of his year of consular office. Therefore, whether Caesar's command was to terminate legally on February 28, 49, or not, he might expect to retain his province and his army until the arrival of his successor in January, 48. The *lex Sempronia*, however, was abrogated by Pompey in 52, and the *lex de prouinciis* which he then passed enacted that no consul should be appointed to a provincial governorship until five years or more after the end of his consulship.<sup>6</sup> On March 1, 50, several consuls would be available for provincial commands; and (if Hirschfeld is right in maintaining that Caesar's command was not expressly secured beyond March 1, 50) the Senate would be entitled, without violating the *lex Pompeia Licinia*, not merely to discuss the appointment of Caesar's successor, but to send him to Gaul on that day.<sup>7</sup> A *plébiscite*, passed in 52, had indeed authorized Caesar to stand for the consulship without presenting himself in Rome<sup>8</sup>; and as he could not be elected consul before July, 49, this *plébiscite* virtually permitted him to retain his command until that date, if not until January 1, 48, when his year of office would begin: but the authorization was infringed by a law which Pompey carried later in the same year, to the effect that candidates for any magistracy must tender their names in person,<sup>9</sup> although, yielding to pressure, he declared informally that the law did not apply to Caesar.<sup>10</sup>

Hirschfeld tries to prove that no date was fixed for the termination of Caesar's command<sup>11</sup>: before March 1, 50, he could not be recalled, but how long afterwards he should remain in Gaul was left uncertain. Only on this hypothesis, he says, can we explain the apparent inconsistency between the

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, 1904, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Rechtsfrage*, etc., pp. 51-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Fam.*, viii., 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> P. Willems, *Le sénat*, etc., ii. 562-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Klio*, 1904, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> P. Willems, *Le sénat*, etc., ii. 588-9.

<sup>7</sup> See *Klio*, 1904, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> *Cic., Att.*, viii. 3, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Dio.*, xl. 56, 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*; *Suet., Divus Iulius*, 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Klio*, 1904, p. 84.

demand that Caesar should be recalled after March 1<sup>1</sup> and the claim which he urged to retain his province until his second consulship. But, as we shall presently see, the hypothesis is stultified by an unequivocal passage in Cicero;<sup>2</sup> and it has been demolished by Judeich.<sup>3</sup>

In order to confute Mommsen, Hirschfeld takes his stand upon a well-known passage in Cicero's correspondence. In May, 50, Caelius wrote: 'So far Pompey seems to have thrown his weight on the side of the Senate's wish that Caesar should leave his province on the 13th of November. Curio is resolved to go all lengths rather than allow this. . . . Pompey, professing not to be attacking Caesar, but to be making a settlement which he considers fair to him, says that Curio is seeking pretexts for a quarrel. However, he is strongly against and evidently afraid of Caesar's becoming consul-designate before handing over his army and province' (*adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius uidetur ut Caesar Id. Nouembr. decedat. Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati . . . Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed quod illi aequum putet constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias. ualde autem non uult et plane timet Caesarem consulem designari prius quam exercitum et prouinciam tradiderit*<sup>4</sup>). If, Hirschfeld argues,<sup>5</sup> the *lex Pompeia Licinia* had provided that Caesar's term of office should not expire before February 28, 49, Pompey could not have claimed that the desire which was expressed in the Senate to recall him on November 13, 50, was reasonable. Now Caelius had no need to specify the year which he had in mind, because Cicero of course knew in what year Caesar's command was to expire; and the words 'making a settlement which he considers fair to him' might suggest that the year was 49. For Caesar could not become consul-designate before July, 49; and to insist on his vacating his province nearly eight months before that time could hardly be called a concession. If, on the other hand, Caelius was thinking of 49, Pompey might plausibly claim that he was making a reasonable compromise. As Tyrrell<sup>6</sup> says, 'A great deal was granted to Caesar—permission to stand for the consulship in his absence, and only a bare six weeks of private life, and that as consul-designate, before he entered on the consulship. He would no doubt be accused during those six weeks; but he must, Pompeius might argue, and it is only reasonable that he should, face his

<sup>1</sup> Is it certain that anyone demanded that Caesar should be recalled after—that is, immediately after—March 1, 50? The only evidence is in *Fam.*, viii. 8, 4: (plane perspecta Cn. Pompeii uoluntate in eam partem) *ut eum decedere post Kalendas Martias placeret*. I suggest that these words mean, not 'that a decree should be passed for Caesar's quitting his province after the 1st of March,' but 'that a decree should be passed after the 1st of March for Caesar's quitting his province'; and I find that Watson (*Cicero: Select Letters*, 1881, p. 236) interprets them in this sense. Cf. § 5 of the same letter. It is true that M. Marcellus 'proposed to fix the end of Caesar's government on the 1st of March' (*Att.*, viii. 3. 3),

and, notwithstanding the opinion of L. Lange (*Röm. Alt.* iii. 374), I am inclined to think that he means March 1, 50, not 49; but Pompey resisted this proposal. Moreover, the first senatorial resolution of September 29, 51—that the question of the consular provinces was to be brought before the House on March 1, 50—was not vetoed by the tribunes who favoured Caesar; and it certainly would have been if it had implied that he could be legally recalled on that day.

<sup>2</sup> *Att.*, vii. 7, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Fam.*, viii. 11, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Klio*, 1904, p. 82. Cf. *ib.* 1905, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> *The Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. iii., p. lxxix.



accusations like any other man. Pompeius could represent to himself and to the world that he was acting in as fair a manner as possible towards his old friend by proposing that the interval between the resignation of his military command and his entry on the consulship should be so short. In these moves and counter-moves, where it was everything to gain show of fairness, this was a very plausible proposal; though in reality six weeks would have been quite long enough to effect Caesar's ruin.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if Caelius was well informed, the words 'Pompey . . . is strongly against and evidently afraid of Caesar's becoming consul-designate before handing over his army and province' suggest that the year which Caelius had in mind was 50. They can only be reconciled with the view that it was 49 by supposing that Pompey feared that the concession which he was prepared to make would prove dangerous; perhaps also that he either did not know his own mind or would not say plainly what he wished.<sup>2</sup> But, apart from this consideration, a significant passage of Hirtius proves, although Hirschfeld endeavours to turn it to his own advantage, that Caesar's government did not legally expire before the end of 50, and therefore that if Caelius meant 50, the 'settlement' which Pompey considered 'fair' was really illegal. Hirtius, describing the siege of Uxellodunum, says that the Gauls, as Caesar was aware, knew that the summer of 50 B.C. would be the last in which he would be free to deal with them (*cum omnibus Gallis notum esse sciret reliquam esse unam aestatem suae provinciae, quam si sustinere potuissent, nullum ultra periculum vererentur*).<sup>3</sup> Hirtius was Caesar's intimate friend; and it is incredible that on a point like this he should have been mistaken. Hirschfeld, however, insists that his words have hitherto been misunderstood. He tells us that C. Bardt (a well-known Ciceronian scholar) pointed out to him that *unam aestatem* must mean, not the summer of 50, but the summer of 51 B.C.,—the year in which the siege occurred. How, he asks, could Caesar's personal intervention in the siege have been explained by Hirtius on the ground that his only remaining summer in command was that of 50 B.C.? If he could have looked forward to another entire summer, in which he would be free to dispose of his army, why should he have been so anxious to capture Uxellodunum at once?<sup>4</sup> In the light of this statement of Hirtius Hirschfeld<sup>5</sup> thinks that Dio was not far wrong when he affirmed that the extension of Caesar's command had been limited to three years. But Hirschfeld's interpretation does violence to the meaning of a plain Latin sentence. It is certain that when Caesar started for Uxellodunum the summer of 51 was already far advanced; for immediately after the capture of the fort, when he went to

<sup>1</sup> I have not noticed the reasons which Mommsen (*Die Rechtsfrage*, etc., p. 53, n. 138) gave for believing that Caelius was thinking of 49 B.C., because they depend upon the hypothesis, which he believed that he had proved (pp. 40-1), that Caesar's command could not be

lawfully terminated before the end of February, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 54 and n. 140) apparently thinks that this supposition is defensible. Cf. p. 55, n. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *B.G.*, viii, 39, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Klio*, 1904, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 78.

Aquitania, only the fag-end of the summer remained.<sup>1</sup> Now consider the earliest chronological indication which Caesar gives in regard to his first invasion of Britain:—‘only a small part of the summer remained’ (*exigua parte aestatis reliqua*).<sup>2</sup> And only a small part of the summer of 51 B.C. remained when Caesar started for Uxellodunum. Therefore, if Hirschfeld is right, *reliquam esse unam aestatem* is equivalent to *reliquam esse exiguam partem aestatis*! If Hirtius had meant this, would he not have said it?<sup>3</sup> If he had written *reliquos esse duos annos*, Hirschfeld will admit that he would have meant ‘two whole years.’ Why, then, should *unam aestatem* be distorted into meaning ‘a small part of one summer’? I ask Hirschfeld to look through Meusel’s *Lexicon Caesarianum*, iii., 1615 sqq. He will not find there one solitary instance in which *reliquus* or any of its cases, coupled with a noun, denotes a part only of the thing—time or what not—signified by that noun. Nothing, then, can be more certain than that, if Hirtius had intended to convey the meaning which Hirschfeld attributes to him, he would have written, not (*reliquam esse*) *unam aestatem*, but (*reliquam esse*) *exiguam partem aestatis*.

The one reason which Hirschfeld gives for accepting Bardt’s misinterpretation can be very easily disposed of. Caesar hastened in person to crush the resistance of Uxellodunum because he knew that if the garrison succeeded in defying his lieutenants, the malcontents throughout Gaul would be encouraged to prolong the guerrilla war into the summer of 50 B.C.; and he resolved that that final summer should be free from all disturbance. He had been obliged to spend eight years in coercing the Gauls: he intended to spend the last in conciliating them.<sup>4</sup>

Let us see whether Judeich has succeeded better than Hirschfeld. It is, he insists, certain that Caesar’s command was to terminate at the end of the year 50:<sup>5</sup> that is proved unmistakably by Cicero’s words, written (between December 18 and 21<sup>6</sup>) to Atticus,—‘What then? Ought we to allow a man

<sup>1</sup> *In eam partem* [sc. *Aquitaniam*] *est profectus, ut ibi extremum tempus consumeret aestiuorum* (*B.G.*, viii. 46, 1): Holzapfel (*Klio*, 1905, pp. 113-14) has anticipated me in calling attention to this passage.

<sup>2</sup> *B.G.*, iv. 20, 1. See also iv. 4, 7 (*reliquam partem hiemis*); v. 31, 4 (*reliqua pars noctis*); vii. 10, 1 (*reliquam partem hiemis*); vii. 25, 1 (*reliqua parte noctis*); *B.C.*, iii. 28, 6 (*reliquam noctis partem*), etc.

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> What I have written in the text disposes of the attempt which Hirschfeld made (*Klio*, 1905, p. 237) to answer Holzapfel (see n. 1 above). Hirschfeld, however, insists that even if by *unam aestatem* Hirtius meant the summer of 50, ‘this can only be used as an argument to prove that Hirtius had in view the actual facts of the case, namely, that Caesar, considering the resolutions passed by the Senate in Rome, might only remain on in Gaul for the summer of 50.’ Hirschfeld

seems to have forgotten that the Gauls could not in the summer of 51 have foretold senatorial resolutions the earliest of which were passed on the 29th of September of that year (*Fam.*, viii. 8, 5). The only way of evading the conclusion which I have drawn from the statement of Hirtius would be to adopt a theory which Watson (*op. cit.*, p. 287) notices,—that Caesar’s second term of five years was to run ‘from the day of the enactment of the consular law [*lex Pompeia Licinia*] in 55 B.C., supposed to have been November 13.’ Now on November 15, 55, Cicero, writing from Tusculum, says (*Att.* iv. 13, 2) that Crassus has already left Rome for Syria; and it is evident from the narrative of Dio (xxxix. 33-9) that the consular law had been passed long before.

<sup>5</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> O. E. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*, p. 101.



who still retains his army after his legal term has expired to stand for the consulship? . . . Do I approve of the ten-year term of military authority, carried too in the way that it was?' (*Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis, cum legis dies transierit, rationem haberi placet? . . . annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum <placet>?*<sup>1</sup>); and by a passage in another letter, written on December 26 or 27<sup>2</sup>,—'You have held a province for ten years, a term which you got not by a grant of the Senate, but by your own violence and factiousness. Now that period—not one of law but only of your own self-willed choice, but still let us say of law—has elapsed, and a vote is passed for your successor' (*tenuisti provinciam per decem annos, non tibi a senatu, sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos. praeteriit tempus non legis, sed libidinis tuae: fac tamen legis: ut succedatur decernitur*<sup>3</sup>). Judeich admits of course that the period for which Caesar was originally appointed did not end until February 28, 54, and that the extension was to last for another five years; but he regards the difference between ten years and nine years and ten months as negligible. His point is that, since Cicero said in December, 50, first, that Caesar's term of office was a 'ten-year term,' and, secondly, that he had already held office for ten years, the term legally expired at the end of that year. May I say that Judeich is very matter-of-fact and, moreover, that his literalness recoils against himself? For if he insists upon pinning Cicero down to the statement that Caesar had already 'held a province for ten years,' he must perforce admit that, since Cicero wrote on the 26th or the 27th of December, Caesar's term expired, not, as he maintains, on December 29, 50, but on or before December 27; and since he understands *tenuisti* literally, why does he not take *decernitur* in the same sense, and argue that on the 26th or the 27th of December the Senate was actually appointing Caesar's successor? To anyone who has a spark of imagination Cicero's meaning is unmistakable. As Tyrrell<sup>4</sup> puts it, 'The senate would not make their decree appointing a successor till the beginning of January, 705 (49). So when Cicero writes *praeteriit* and *decernitur* he is anticipating, and referring to what will take place in a few days, not to the actual present.' I admit that if Cicero knew that a successor was to be appointed on the 8th of January,<sup>5</sup> and if he meant that Caesar's command would then have legally expired, Judeich's conclusion is sound. But the letters from which Judeich quotes were evidently written in excitement; what was uppermost in Cicero's mind was the fear that Caesar would retain his army while he was standing for the consulship; and he had already expressed regret that a successor had not been appointed in the preceding June,<sup>6</sup> although, even on Judeich's theory, he could not have taken up the appointment before the 1st of January. It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that what Cicero meant was not that the legal termination of Caesar's command

<sup>1</sup> *Att.*, vii. 7, 6.

<sup>2</sup> O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Att.*, vii. 9, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *The Correspondence of Cicero*, iii. 291. Cf. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> *B.C.* i. 6, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Att.*, vii. 7, 5, with *Fam.*, viii. 13, 2.



would precede the appointment of his successor, but that the Senate would decree that he should resign in favour of his successor after the ten years had expired.<sup>1</sup>

However, Judeich has other strings to his bow. By the Trebonian law, passed in 55 B.C., the province of Syria was assigned to Crassus and the provinces of Spain to Pompey, for five years. Judeich asserts that 'There is not the slightest ground to suppose that in this case there was any departure from the rule which prescribed the 1st of January of the year following the consulate as the beginning of the proconsular year,'<sup>2</sup> and accordingly he affirms that Pompey and Crassus were to hold their provinces from January 1, 54, till December 29, 50. Caesar's command, he argues, could not have outlasted that of Pompey.<sup>3</sup> Assume, for the sake of argument, that Caesar's second term, like the first, was to end on February 28. Is it not reasonable to suppose that since 'the rule' had been departed from in the case of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus may have taken care that they also should hold office until February 28, 49? But even if Caesar's legal term was to outlast Pompey's by two months, Pompey would be practically no worse off. Since in the *lex Pompeia Licinia* a clause had been inserted providing that Caesar's successor should not be nominated before March 1, 50, we may fairly assume that in the *lex Trebonia* some similar provision had been made in the interest of Pompey. When the *lex Trebonia* was passed the *lex Sempronia* was still in force. Hirschfeld shows that so long as it remained in force Caesar could not be recalled before the end of 49; and he could stay no longer if his legal term was February 28 of that year. If Pompey chose to go to Spain, surely he too could hold his province until his successor should arrive. He did not go to Spain; but he secured himself still more effectively by providing in 52 that his command also should be prolonged for five years—in other words, till the end of 45, or perhaps till February 28, 44.

Judeich, like Hirschfeld, maintains that when Caelius said that the Senate wished Caesar to leave his province on the 13th of November, he meant of the year 50 B.C.; but here he is confronted by Hirschfeld's argument:—if (as Judeich argues) Caesar's term did not legally expire till December 29, 50, how could Pompey claim that the Senate's proposal was reasonable? 'The question,' Judeich replies, 'is here only of surmises on the part of Caelius,

<sup>1</sup> This view is supported by the two passages (*B. C.*, i. 2, 6; 9, 2) in which Caesar says that [on January 1, 49] the Senate resolved that he should disband his army before a specified day (*ante certam diem*), and that his enemies, by disregarding the law [of 52] which authorized him to stand for the consulship in his absence, deprived him of six months' tenure of his command (*ereptoque sexmestri imperio*). Lange (*op. cit.* iii. 398) identifies *certam diem* with July 1, the last day on which Caesar could present himself in person as a candidate for the consulship. I believe that he is right, because the six months of which Caesar was to be deprived must have been the

last six months of the year (cf. Livy, *Epit.*, 108). They could not have been the first or any other six months; for if, although the law of 52 authorized him to stand for the consulship in his absence, he had been obliged to return to Rome immediately after his election, he would have gained nothing in immunity from prosecution and might just as well have returned on March 1. Evidently then his enemies, when they appointed his successor in January, 49, did not require him to resign his command until nearly six months later.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 7.

which relate to the fact that in the Senate the proposal was mooted that Caesar should hand over his province on November 13; Pompey in his indecisive way took up no definite attitude on the matter and only let it be seen privately that the proposal was acceptable to him.' Besides, 'Caelius's description of Pompey's vacillation enables us to see clearly that even Pompey, when he concurred with the proposal of the Senate, had an uneasy conscience.'<sup>1</sup> Assume that what Judeich sees is true,—that the 'settlement' which Pompey considered 'fair' was not only unfair but illegal: is not this just as consistent with the view that Caesar's command was to end on February 28, 49, as with that which Judeich maintains?

Such are my grounds for thinking that 'Hirschfeld and the rest' have failed to upset Mommsen's conclusion. Unless Cicero, when he said 'ten years,' meant nine years and ten months, or rather nine years nine months and twenty-seven days, Caesar's command was assured by the *lex Pompeia Licinia* until February 28, 49 B.C.

T. RICE HOLMES.

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1913, pp. 6-7.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**Athenaeum** (Pavia). Vol. III. No. 2. 1915.

C. Pascal quotes Horace's *Satires* I. 10, 16 sqq. with its implied criticism of Catullus and his school, and enlarges on Horace's attitude to other writers of his time. He concludes from many passages in the *Carmen Saeculare* and the *Odes* that Horace imitated Catullus as freely as Alcaeus and Archilochus, and in similar manner, but without acknowledgment of his indebtedness in the case of Catullus. C. Morelli discusses the authenticity of one of three small treatises attributed to Servius, the *De Finalibus*, *De Metris Horatii* and *De centum Metris*. The meagre treatment in the latter of a subject of which Servius must be supposed to be a master he attributes to the intention to write a useful text-book in compressed form. The date of the treatises is uncertain. Perhaps *De centum Metris* was a youthful work. G. B. Pesenti has found in a MS. fifty-nine letters of Poliziano or his friends, seven of them hitherto unedited. These letters are important to students of Renaissance Latin. Especially interesting is a letter about the production of Sophocles' *Electra* in Greek. P. Fossataro contrasts and compares Menander's *Epitrepontes* with the *Hecyra* of Terence. The former he analyzes as a play à thèse, the latter as containing an approach to modern realism, but both as based on a 'feminist' idea of morality. O. Tescari discusses once more the question of the site of the *Fons Bandusiae*, and sums up in favour of the region of Venusia.

Vol. III. No. 3.

C. Pascal maintains that the *Scipio* of Ennius was a Satire (in the older sense). As to subject, if Lucilius could celebrate Scipio Aemilianus in a Satire, Ennius may well have celebrated Africanus. Pascal wishes to identify it with the third book. Cicero quotes some lines of Ennius which he expressly declares to have been uttered by Scipio, ending 'testes sunt Campi Magni.' But Nonius quotes the line (in the form 'testes sunt lati campi') as being in the third book of Satires. Pascal attacks the view of Skutsch that the *Scipio* was an epic poem, and differs from him also as to the order of its composition, Skutsch holding that the *Annales* was of later date, because otherwise Ennius must have repeated the subject-matter of the *Annales* in the *Scipio*. But Pascal argues that the *Annales* were an account of Scipio's wars, and the *Scipio* a defence, with a rapid survey of his hero's whole life and a tribute to his greatness. A lengthy commentary follows on the 'fragments.' F. Ribezzo, in an article on Etymological Anomalies, discusses: (1) Thraco-phryg. βέκος, 'pane,' Alban. buke 'pane'; (2) αἶροι, λαγωοί, γλωττῶν Ἰταλικῶν; (3) Grk. σίδηρος, Lat. *sidus*, -eris; (4) Illyr. Sabāja; (5) Messap. βίσθην, δρέπανον, ἀμπελοτόμον. F. Guglielmino offers yet another solution of *Carmen* 68 of Catullus as follows: lines 1-40 are a genuine letter to his friend Manlius. The lines after 40 were written under different circumstances, are of earlier date than 1-40, and are addressed to Allius. They were, however, recast by the poet at different times, and Guglielmino regards lines 91-100, 135-141 as insertions. But it is impossible to regard the poem as a unit.



**Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1915.**

Aug. 28 (double number). J. Vahlen, *Beiträge zu Aristoteles' Poetik*. Neudruck besorgt von Hermann Schöne (H. F. Müller). A reprint of work published in 1865-7. W. Klein, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*. Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte. 13. Beiheft (A. Klotz). A study of the sources used by A. A. Steinwenter, *Beiträge zum öffentlichen Urkundenwesen der Römer* (von Druffel). J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*. III. 1, 2 (Lammert). This review, concluded in the following number, discusses the battles of Cannae and Zama at considerable length. F. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs und Optativs in den griechischen Dialekten*.

Sept. 4. E. Drerup, *Die Anfänge der hellenischen Kultur. Homer*. II. Ed. (J. Ziehen). H. Roese, *De Ovidii codice Gissensi* (Tolkiehn). Includes a complete collation of this MS. with the text of Merkel-Ehwald. The work is not always accurate. F. Studniczka, *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II*. Mit 51 Abbild. im Text und 3 Taf. (v. Behr). The picture of the tent given in this treatise is reproduced in the tenth edition (1915) of the *Hdbch. der Kunstgeschichte* by Springer, Michaelis and Wolters. The reviewer discusses the structure as an architect.

Sept. 11. A. Elter, *Ein athenisches Gesetz über die eleusinische Aparche* (Wide). On an inscription, important for constitutional history, recording a resolution of the *νομοθέται*, printed in Michel, *Rec. d'inscr. Gr. suppl. I.*, 1912, No. 1459, and in I. G. II<sup>2</sup>. No. 140. E. Rüsch, *Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften*. I. Lautlehre (Nachmanson). Highly praised.

Sept. 18. A. Gudeman, *P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus*. II. Ed. (John). The long Prolegomena are the most valuable part; the commentary is weak on grammatical points. A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* (Gerland). Heft 4 and 5 with a Register to the whole work. Haug und Sixt, *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*. II. Ed. (G. Wolff).

Sept. 25. A. Chatzis, *Der Philosoph und Grammatiker Ptolemaios Chennos*. I. Leben, Schriftstellerei und Fragmente (except the Life of Aristotle). I. Einleitung und Text (Berndt). This will be the standard book on Ptolemaeus. The Commentary is to be published 1915. Christ's *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* needs revision on this writer. P. Rasi, *Gli studi recenti sull' epitafio di Allia Potestas e la metrica del carne* (Tolkiehn). Found in 1912 in the Via Salaria, Rome; date about 300 A.D.

Oct. 2. F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Preuschen). The book, which has been carefully revised, may be recommended to all who wish to make themselves acquainted with the principles of N.T. textual criticism. S. Feist, *Indogermanen und Germanen*. Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Urgeschichtsforschung (Hermann). G. Wolff contributes to this number a paper on Archäologische Bodenforschung in Hessen.

Oct. 9. L. Koettgen, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Indagatores jabulam Sophocleam et hymnum in Mercurium qui fertur Homericus* (Bucherer). An able and learned dissertation. O. Morelli, *Apuleiana III.*, IV. (Helm). J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (Anthes). Useful for giving a general idea of Cyprian antiquities, not only those in the New York Museum. R. Kleinpaul, *Das Seelenleben im Spiegel der Sprache* (Meltzer). Lightly written but full of learning.

Oct. 16. E. Kalinka, *Xenophontis qui inscribitur libellus 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* ed. E. K. (Nestle). Teubner text with app. crit. (fuller than in K.'s large edition), Latin Introduction on the MSS. and editions. V. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (Tolkiehn). The writer of this dissertation knows the literature of the subject well and contributes some new ideas.

Oct. 23. M. Ahle, *Sprachliche und kritische Untersuchungen zu Columella* (Schmalz). On C.'s use of the gerund and gerundive and on the text of a number of passages.

M. Richter, *Priscorum poetarum et scriptorum de se et aliis iudicia* (Klotz). Goes down to the time of Cicero.

Oct. 30. J. Kohler und L. Wenger, *Orientalisches Recht und Recht der Griechen und Römer* (Soltau). A section of 'Die Kultur der Gegenwart.' Useful to the scholar. A. Merlin, *Forum et Maisons d'Althiburos* (Oehler).

Nov. 6. F. Postma, *De numine divino quid senserit Vergilius* (Tolkiehn). The author disagrees with the views expressed by MacInnes in *C.R.*, 1910, pp. 169 sqq. 'The conception of Fata in the *Aeneid*.' G. L. Bisoffi, *Il Contra Symmachum di Aurelio Prudenzio Clemente* (Weyman). This study throws some light on the poem. Fr. Boehm, *Die Schrift des Giglio Gregorio Giraldi über die Symbole des Pythagoras* (B. A. Müller). Shows that G. himself composed the work which he attributed to Plutarch: 'in libellum quendam incidi cui titulus est: *Pythagorica praecepta mystica a Plutarcho interpretata*.'

Nov. 13. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néo-platonicien* (Jaeger). R. Berndt contributes to this and the two following numbers 'Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Habron,' a complete text with notes.

Nov. 20. Fr. Eisemann, *Anaximenea* (Wilke). In the first part of this dissertation there is a valuable study of the order of words. In the second part the author tries, less successfully, to show that the papyrus (Hibeh 26) is of comparatively little value for the constitution of the text. J. Weber, *Quaestionum grammaticarum specimen* (Tolkiehn). A careful examination of the ancient evidence for the pronunciation of *c*, *g*, *k*. In many cases the statements of the grammarians are traced back to Varro.

#### Classical Weekly (New York). Vol. IX. 1915.

Oct. 2. C. Favre, *Thesaurus Verborum quae in titulis Ionicis leguntur cum Herodoteo sermone comparatus* (E. H. Sturtevant). 'Each word and meaning are diligently compared with Herodotus' usage, if the word appears in Herodotus.' H. S. Gehman, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients: a Study Based on Greek and Latin Sources* (C. W. Pepiler).

Oct. 9. Austin Smyth, *The Composition of the Iliad. An Essay on a Numerical Law in its Structure* (G. M. Bolling). 'Mr. Smyth has laid his hand upon a pressing problem—the need of getting back to the original articulations of the poem.'

Oct. 16. W. W. Mooney, *The House-door on the Ancient Stage* (R. C. Flickinger). 'When a back-scene was introduced in the Athenian theatre, therefore, its doors were made to conform to what must still have been the normal practice, and from this precedent theatrical doors continued to open outwards not only in Greece but also in Italy. . . .' C. P. Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (G. P. Hadzsits). 'The work is of real value for students of Roman history and religion as well as for students of Virgil's literary technique.' H. McN. Poteat, *Repetition in Latin Poetry with Special Reference to the Metrical Treatment of Repeated Words* (G. Howe). K. P. Harrington, *The Roman Elegiac Poets*, edited with Introduction and Notes by K. P. H. (H. L. Cleasby).

Oct. 30. T. Rice Holmes, *C. Iuli Caesaris Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum VII.* A. Hirti, *Commentarius VIII.*, edited by T. R. H. (Gonzalez Lodge). 'All this material [in the Introduction], while presented briefly, is characterized by the clearness, cogency and virility which we have come to associate with Mr. Holmes's name.' A. A. Howard, *Latin Selections* (F. F. Abbott). 'The work is intended to illustrate public life in the Roman Commonwealth in the time of Cicero.'

Nov. 13. R. T. Elliott, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (F. G. Allinson). 'In any case, Greek scholars must be grateful to the editor for his unsparing labour in obtaining and reviewing his data.'



**Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1915.**

Sept. 4. L. Wenger, *Recht der Griechen u. Römer* (Koschaker). Of interest both for the specialist and the general reader. A. Krieger, *De Aululariae Plautinae exemplari Graeco* (Bickel). The prototype seems certainly to have been Menander's. J. Kohte, *Die Baukunst des kl. Altertums und ihre Entwicklung* (v. Bezold). An excellent book. F. Stählin, *Pharsalos*.

Sept. 11. R. Methner, *Lateinische Syntax des Verbums* (Debrunner). Merits and defects are alike great. H. Zinsmeister, *Die Anfangsverse von Sophokles' Antigone*.

Sept. 18. Fr. Schleiermacher, *Platons Phaidros*, übers. von F. S.; new edition by C. Wayte, with many alterations of S.'s translation.

Sept. 25. G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (v. Gaertringen). The editor shows great learning and powers of interpretation. G. Heidrich, *Claudius Rutilius Namatianus*. With introd. and critical notes by G. H. (Moeller). Of permanent value.

Oct. 2. W. L. Friedrich, *Zu Cassius Dio LXI. 10 u. Seneca De constantia IX. 2* (Bickel). A defence of the writer's position.

Oct. 9. L. Parmentier, *Recherches sur le traité d'Isis et d'Osiris de Plutarque* (Ziegler).

Oct. 16. A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente d. griech. Kunstschriftsteller*, ges. von A. T. (Pfeiffer). Diligent and careful work. F. Studniczka, *Die griech. Kunst an Kriegergräbern* (Robert). Striking characterization and excellent treatment.

Oct. 23. E. Scheer, *Studien zu den Dramen des Aeschylos* (Fischl). Ingenious, but hardly convincing. Lehmann-Haupt, *Solon of Athens, the poet merchant and statesman* (Regling).

Oct. 30. J. Sundwall, *Weströmische Studien* (Rosenberg). An excellent work. C. C. Conrad, *The technique of continuous action in Roman comedy* (M. Köhm). The carefulness and sound method of the author deserve recognition.

Nov. 6. A. Maidhof, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Koine* (Wolff). Highly praised. P. Rowald, *Repertorium lat. Wörterverzeichnisse und Speziallexika*.

Nov. 13. M. Weber, *Lukians von Samosata sämtliche Werke*, übers. von M. W. (Stamm). A model translation. F. Paulus, *Prosopographie der Beamten des Ἀπονοίτης νόμος in der Zeit von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (Viereck). Composed with great care.

Nov. 20. H. Geist, *De L. A. Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum codicibus*.

**Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1915. VI.-IX.**

C. Zander, *Eurhythmia*. II. *Numeri Latini aetas integra*; III. *Eurhythmia Ciceronis* (Münscher). The critic, whilst praising much of the work, is unconvinced of the principal assertions. A. Heisenberg u. L. Wenger, *Byz. Papyri der R. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München* (Partsch). The commentary is excellent, and the legal terms are well explained. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Heraeus). An excellent book. H. Magnus, *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libri XV*. (Helm). The editor deserves gratitude. E. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (Pasquali). As important as the author's *Kunstprosa*. F. Studniczka, *Das Symposion Ptolemaios' II.* (Rubensohn). The book is instructive and stimulating even where it is not convincing.

**Hermes. L. 4. 1915.**

A. Klotz, *Zu den Quellen der 4 u. 5 Dekaden des Livius*. 1. Die spanischen Provinzen zwischen den 2 punischen und 3 makedonischen Kriegen. K. agrees with Kahrstedt that the differences between books 38 and 39 point to the use of different sources; but as the variations are insignificant, the tradition seems to be generally reliable. 2. Valerius Antias und Cl. Quadrigarius. Up to the end of bk. 38 V. A. is the principal source for the events in Spain; from bk. 39 onwards,



C.Q. E. von Stern, *Kleomenes III. u. Archidamos*. Plutarch is right in stating that A. was killed ἄκοντος τοῦ Κλεομένους. K. Ziegler, *Die Genesiszeit in der Schrift περὶ ὕψους*. This was inserted by a Christian. O. Lenze, *Zu Heraklit*. fr. 26 (Diels). A restoration and interpretation.

**Mnemosyne.** XLIII. 4. 1915.

C. W. Vollgraff deals with nine Argive inscriptions belonging to the third century B.C. which have been recently discovered. Of these two are almost complete. They contain decrees in honour of foreigners. Vollgraff attempts to restore, interpret and date them. J. J. Hartmann writes on the *Epitaph of Allia Potestas*, inscribed on a stone discovered some years ago, and containing some fifty-two verses. The epitaph is interesting as being the work of an uneducated person attempting to write in the style of Virgil or Horace, but making frequent errors in metre and quantity. A. Rutgers van der Loeff, on the *Oschophoria*, collects the passage in ancient authors which throw light on the festival. In its original form he regards it as an initiation ceremony by which the ephebi were admitted into the ranks of the men of the community. J. C. Naber continues his *Observations on Roman Law*. The present paper, entitled *De Nilo censitore*, deals with the laws in force in Egypt (particularly during the Roman period) relating to the assessment of lands the boundary-stones of which had been lost and the area altered by the action of the river. P. H. Damsté, on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 95-97, suggests the reading ὄμφαλον for ὀφθαλμόν in the last line. J. J. Hartmann on Soph. *Trach.* 706-710 proposes to read θνήσκειν for θνήσκων in 707. L. Rank on Ovid *Amor.* I. 8. 57 sq. discusses an article by D. A. Slater (*Class. Rev.* Dec. 1913, pp. 257 sq.). He accepts neither the interpretation there proposed nor the emendation suggested as an alternative, but would read 'ecce quid iste tuus praeter noua carmina uates | donat? amatoris millia multa seges.'

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. XXXIX. Part 1. 1915.

E. Cavaignac, *Quelques remarques sur l'historicité de Tite-Live XXI-XLV*. An attempt to show that Livy's authorities had access to original documents of great importance, especially to those preserved in the archives of the Senate. B. Haus-soullier, *Décrets de Nicopolis d'Épire*. An examination of an inscription recently discovered by Greek excavators in Epirus. S. Reinach, *Les communiqués de César*. A discussion of Caesar, *B.G.* i. 30-36, which, it is maintained, embodies two contradictory accounts. A. Reinach, *Notes critiques aux chapitres de Pline relatifs à l'histoire de l'art*. Continued from Vol. 38, p. 245. Discusses: (1) The two Aristeides and the Theban School. (2) Nikias and Praxiteles. Were there two artists with these names? (3) Aetion and the marriage of Alexander and Roxane. (4) The Paralos and Hammonias of Protogenes. (5) Did Apelles paint two pictures of Aphrodite?

BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE: Review of O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*.

**Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica.** XLIII. 1. 1915.

E. Bignone, *New studies in Epicurean texts and doctrines*. Contains emendations of two papyrus fragments of Philodemus from Herculaneum, and discusses their relation to the doctrine of Epicurus. F. Ribezzo, (1) *On the etymology and meaning of the words gloria, Lar, and telum*; (2) *On the origin of the single oblique case in the dual in Greek*, discussing the views of Brugmann and Hirt, and advancing fresh arguments. F. Stabile, *The latinity of the new Psalter published from Codex Casinensis 557*. A long article on the morphology, phonology, vocabulary and syntax of this Psalter, edited by Dom. Antonio Amelli (Rome, 1912): the editor's ascription of it to Rufinus of Aquileia is rejected, and it is argued that the vocabulary points to a much later date. E. Stampini, *The painter Marcus Plautius*. A new interpretation of the well-known epigram in the temple of Juno at Ardea recorded by Pliny (*N.H.* 35. 10). Abandoning the view that 'Loco' is a proper name and punctuating 'Dignis digna loco.

Picturis condecorauit, etc.,’ the writer translates ‘For the worthy painter rewards worthy of or suitable to the place’: i.e. a statue or bust of the painter would have been out of place in the temple, and the inscription of his name ‘in ipsa pictura’ was an honour properly given to him. G. Furlani, ὁ ὀξύρρυγχος χαρακτήρ. A vigorous polemic against the view of Mentz (*Rh. Mus.* 68) that this phrase means a form of writing derived from or current in the city of Oxyrhynchus. E. Fay, *De latebris litterarum in glande saxea Saepinati Osce inscriptis*. Offers a new interpretation of an Oscan inscription edited by Kent in *I.F.* 32. 196. ‘Kuru’ in the second line is held to be equivalent to ‘nux’ used *sensu obsceno* for ‘testiculus,’ and the English slang use of ‘nut’ is held to have the same origin. The numeral IIV, which precedes ‘kuru’ is explained as ‘tertius’ = *testis* = *testiculus*. F. H. Fobes, *On a passage of Aristotle*. Argues for the reading αἰ τε πλατυτέρα in *Arist. Meteor.* II. 3. 358b 12, instead of the αἰ πλατυτέρα of the Berlin editors. G. L. Bisoffi, *On Aesch. Ag.* 1119-1124. After a résumé of the many renderings proposed for this passage suggests a new explanation of ξυνανύτει ἀγλαῖς. ἀνῶ having often in tragedy the sense of ‘going,’ ξυνανύτω may, like the Latin ‘concedere,’ mean to retire or withdraw. The phrase will then refer to the pallor of death: the blood ‘retires or disappears’ from the face.

### Wochenschrift der klassischen Philologie. 1915.

July 26 (double number). A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (Nestle). A most valuable piece of work. J. E. Harry, *The Greek Tragic Poets* (Busche). The positive results do not quite correspond to the labour and ingenuity devoted to the work. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. 3 ed. (Zimmermann). Helpful. C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire* (Rosenberg). Valuable. G. Rudberg, *Neutestamentlicher Text und Nomina sacra* (Larfeld). A laudatory review. J. B. Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii* (Nikos A. Bees).

Aug. 9. W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabe-urkunden aus dem V. Jahrh.* (W. Larfeld). An appreciative review. J. Ziehen, *Bemerkungen zu Lucan's Pharsalia*.

Aug. 16 (double number). W. Hartmann, *De quinque aetatibus Hesiodis* (Seeliger). Shows industry. F. Sommer, (1) *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. 2 and 3 ed. (2) *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Walde). Excellent work: the author has a sound feeling for probability.

Aug. 23. K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque* (Fehrle). The material is well digested. M. San Nicolò, *Aegyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer u. Römer* (Wiedemann). A pioneer study of social organization in the wider sense. E. T. Goodspeed, *The Bixby Gospels* (Larfeld).

Sept. 6. E. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters* (Blümner). The reviewer is not always in agreement. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienst Ägyptens in der griech. Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Gemoll). Thorough and practical.

Sept. 13. O. Apelt, *Platons Dialog Sophistes*. Übers. u. erläutert von O. A. (Berndt). Valuable. P. Gotzes, *De Ciceronis tribus generibus dicendi* (Nohl). A thorough study. A. S. Pease, *Medical allusions in the works of St. Jerome* (Fuchs).

Sept. 20. G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian clubs in politics and litigation* (Cauer). C. Ritter, *Platons Dialog Phaidros*. Übers. u. erläutert von C. R. (Gillischewski). Exact and clear. F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griech. Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*. Heft 2 (Viereck). Exceptionally valuable.

Sept. 27. G. Wissowa-Kroll-Witte, *Pauly's Realencyclopädie*. Second series, Ra-Ryton (Harder). Severely compressed. A. G. Roper, *Ancient Eugenics* (Cauer).

Oct. 4. G. Rudberg, *Zum sogenannten zehnten Buch der aristotelischen Tiergeschichte* (Lehnert). C. Lanzani, *Mario e Sulla* (Gelzer). Not to be taken seriously.



Oct. 11. O. Friebe, *Fulgentius der Mythograph u. Bischof* (Bögel). The material does not bear out the writer's conclusions. M. Arnaudov, *Rites et légendes bulgares*. A work in the Bulgarian language. Favourably reviewed by N. A. Bees.

Oct. 18. E. Pokorny, *Studien zur griech. Geschichte im IV. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Cauer). The reviewer is favourable. E. Petersen, *Otto Jahn in seinen Briefen* (Güthling).

Oct. 25. M. Valetton, *De Iliadis fontibus et compositione* (Stürmer). The reviewer, an adherent of the unity theory, finds the standpoint obsolete. Ida Kapp, *Callimachi Hecalae fragmenta* (Könnecke). A convenient collection, not making any considerable advance in the interpretation.

Nov. 1. H. Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen u. Altgriechischen* (Wagner). Important and almost always convincing. G. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Larfeld).

Nov. 8. Val. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (Engelhardt). C. P. Gunning, *De Sophistis Graeciae praeceptoribus* (Nestle). H. Fischer, *Quaestiones Aeneanae* (Wagner). A valuable study of A. Tacticus.

Nov. 15. G. Andresen, *Korrumpierte Eigennamen bei Tacitus*. Th. Stangl, *Lexikalisches; expeditia and parviloquium in Boethius*.

## LANGUAGE.

Glotta. VI. 4. 1915.

SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE OF 1912. Greek by Kretschmer; Latin Etymology, etc., by Felix Hartmann; Latin Metric, Syntax, etc., by Kroll. Review of second edition of Hirt's *Handbuch*. Witte:  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$  (—) :  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$  (—). Ehrlich: Expiratory accent in Greek from middle of fourth century B.C.; Apocope; grave accent a middle tone. Wackernagel's accounting for lack of vocative \* $\theta\epsilon\epsilon$  rejected. Drewitt: original present value of augment  $\epsilon$ -. Nazari:  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $a < \tilde{a} + \tilde{a}$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ : Sabine *ancus* 'seruus.' Schwyzler:  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$   $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\eta\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  (- $\sigma\tau\iota$ -: Skr. -*sthi*- 'stans'). E. Thomas:  $\nu\mu\phi$ [ $\nu\phi$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ . Charlotte Fränkel:  $\omicron\mu\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (Corinthian bowl) = Umbricus. Schwyzler: Cypr.  $\pi\alpha\acute{\phi}\acute{\iota}\omega$ : Lat. *pauio*:  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  [see *AJPh.* XXVI. 188; 405]. Kretschmer rejects Solmsen's  $\Sigma\iota\lambda\eta\text{-}\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  = 'snub-nose' [*Class. Rev.* XXIII. 208] for his own derivation [*Gl.* IV. 351 sq.] from Thracian  $\xi\iota\lambda\alpha$ . Kühner's *Lat. Grammatik*: new edition disparaged. Persson: denies Lat.  $\acute{e}r < \acute{r}i$ ;  $\acute{p} < \acute{t}u$ -. Wackernagel (after Sommer): Latin gen. in -*ius*: Skr. in -*sya* (accepted). Brugmann: Lat. impf. subj. compounded of infin. + a form of *ire* (*amāre* + *ēm*, etc.); not explicitly rejected. Collitz: Lat. *ii* = Skr. *iye*. Fay: sharp polemic against his explanations by suffixation (in *KZ.* XLV. 111-133; *AJPh.* XXXIII. 377-400; XXXIV. 15-42). Thurneysen: *litigare* modelled on *remex*, *remigare* [but cf. *nāuigare*: Skr. *nāvāja*, Av. *nāvāza* 'nauta']. Wood: polemic against his etymological method. E. Thomas: Petronius' *babaecalus* =  $\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 272); in 63. 3 read *cac* < *l* > *i* < *s* > *tus* (from  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) for *caccitus*. Gruenler: *etquis*, *ecquis*. Wackernagel: *Rud.* 135, *aula extaris*, by (sentence) dissimilation for *aula* \**extalis*. Persson: Lat. *ferē*, *fermē* 'mostly': *fert*; cf. OHG. *bora-lang* 'very long'; *fluit*: [ $\omicron\iota\upsilon\omicron$ -]  $\phi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\xi$ , cf.  $\pi\omicron\mu$ - $\phi\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\xi$ ; *for*[*c*] *tis*: Skr. *bṛhati* 'fattens'; *fremit*:  $\beta\rho\acute{\mu}\epsilon\mu\iota$ , OHG. *brewan* (IE. *bh-* / *b-*); *inuitare*: Skr. *veti* 'seeks', Slav. *vitati* 'welcome'; *stolo*:  $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'prow' [*AJPh.* XXXIV. 19];  $\acute{t}[v]\acute{a}$ -*ma* 'swelling': *tumēo*; *uia*: Skr. [*pada*-]  $\acute{v}\acute{\iota}$ , [cf. *uena* ? Osc. *am-vianud* 'circuitu']. Havet: *funus* / *foenus*. E. Thomas: *madet* + *mulsa*. Wackernagel: *mar*[*t*] *i-tus*; Lith. *marti*- 'bride.' Hirt: *miles*:  $\delta\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , Skr. *samikā-m* 'proelium.' Thurneysen:  $\acute{p}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ [*v*] *gare*:  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$  [ $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$ : *purus* in *AJPh.* XXVI. 192]. Baehrens: *Beitraege z. Lat. Syntax*. Wackernagel: The 'Historical' Future. Methner: *aliquis*: *quisquam*. F. H. Fowler: *quin* not = 'why not,' but  $\chi$ .



Lejay: parenthetical *-que* in *absque* [Kroll's objection fails to reckon with the common interruption, at or near the beginning of a sentence, of the stream of thought. Touching *quod* 'though,' Kroll is right]. Latin word-order: review of works by H. Schneider, Marouzeau, Kieckers, Rhys Roberts. Schoenwitz, *re-* in compounds. Prosody and metre: G. Jackmann on 'The Iambic Law' (important).

#### Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXIV. 5. 1914-15.

N. van Wijk, *Das litauische langvokalische Präteritum*. H. H. Bender, *The accent of Sanskrit mant- and -vant*. J. Compennass, *Vulgärlateinisches*. 1. *mactare* 'schlagen, prügeln.' 2. *nihilominus* 'gleichfalls, ebenso.' Karl Brugmann, (i.) *Die Entstehung des altindischen Prekativs*; (ii.) *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Nomina mit Formans -ti-*. To the rare Latin words with the simple formative *-ti-* (as in Greek *ῥᾱσις*) instead of the common extension *-tion-*, like *satias* belongs also *damnas*, which does not differ essentially from *damnatio*. With these belong also a large number of masculine concretives or adjectives of Old Italic (*nostras*, etc., *penates*, *Arpinas*, *Quirites*). Oscan *senateis*, and Umbrian *fratrecate* and *maronatei* are interpreted from this point of view. (iii.) *Zwei oskische Adverbialbildungen*. 1. *ekss, ex*. It is maintained in opposition to Skutsch that this form is to be connected with *eksum*. 2. *púkkapíd* [*p*] *ocapíd* *pocapít* arises from *pod*, *κατά* and the indefinite particle *-pid*, which corresponds to Old Indic *cit*. E. Kieckers, *Zur 2. sing. des aktiven Imperfekts und zur 3. sing. des aktiven Imperativs des Präsens im Altirischen*. Indices. ANZEIGER FÜR INDOGERMANISCHE SPRACH- UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE. XXXIV. 1915. Reviews of H. Adjarian, *Classification des Dialectes Arméniens*; Lübker, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*. 8 Aufl.; Hatzidakis, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μελέται*; Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*; Nichols, *The semantic variability and semantic equivalents of -oso- and -lento-*. John Ries, *Zur Gliederung der Syntax und der Gesamtgrammatik*. Polemic against certain criticisms of the author's views advanced by the late Richard M. Meyer.

#### XXXV. 1 and 2. 1915.

E. Kieckers, *Zur oratio recta in den indogermanischen Sprachen*. I. An elaborate study of the modes of introducing direct quotations, illustrated by hundreds of examples, many of them from non-indogermanic languages. K. Brugmann, *Über einige zu ὀνύνημι gehörige Nominalformen*. The Cyprian name read 'Ονύγιος by Sittig is shown to be the adjective ὀνύγιος. † R. Wilsdorf, *Ein altlateinischer Dativ der fünften Deklination auf -iei*. Emends the second line of the Scipio inscr. CIL. I. 38 to *progeniei ingenui*. O. A. Danielsson, *Zu einer arkadischen Verbalform*. ἀψευδῶν ἄν of IG. V. 2. 343, is interpreted as an optative after the analogy of the postulated \*φέρο(ι)α form. E. Kieckers, *Armenisches*. C. Cappeller, *Noch zwölf Pasakos*. Fairy tale texts in the Lithuanian dialect of south-eastern Prussia. F. Holthausen, *Etymologien*. 3. *apis* is connected with *opus*. St. Mladenov, *Etymologisches*. K. Treimer, *Der albanische Nationalname*. H. Hirt, *Zur Verbalflexion*. I. *Zum äolischen Optativ*. The Aorist optative in *-je-* is regarded as very primitive, and used to explain the Latin imperfect subjunctive, whose correspondence is regularly with the optative in other languages. 2. *Lat. nouit=ags. cnēow*. N. A. Dekawalles, *Ein hesychisches Nachwort für 'onomatopoëtisches Gebilde'*. A gloss in Hesychius is thus divided: μάματα· ποίημα· τὰ βρώματα, and compared with μᾶμᾶν· ἐπὶ τῆς παιδικῆς φωνῆς· ἐσθίειν. The word ποίημα must then be assigned the hitherto unrecognized meaning of ὀνοματοποιΐα.

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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APRIL, 1916.

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## HESIODEA III.

THE recently issued volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Part XI.) contains new and important fragments from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*; and the two substantial pieces grouped as No. 1358 are particularly welcome as shedding light upon two rather obscure sections of that work—the γῆς περίοδος, and the history of the Sons of Europa and Zeus. It goes without saying that the editors' treatment of these fragments is in every way admirable; and I trust it will not be regarded as an impertinence if I endeavour to restore a few lines which they have refrained from completing, and to offer an alternative reconstruction of a somewhat difficult passage.

### I.

*Frag. 1, Col. i, ll. 16 sqq.*

The editors are certainly right in their view that these lines deal with Sarpedon. The surviving fragment does not suit either Minos or Rhadamanthys, and notices of their 'honours' must have followed later. We may observe, in passing, that the fragment on Minos quoted by 'Plato' (*Minos*, 320 D) from Hesiod<sup>1</sup> is too summary to have served this purpose, and may be supposed to have occurred in connection with a notice of a heroine wedded by Minos. Two considerations make it worth while to attempt to restore this passage further than the discoverers have done: (1) l. 20 can be completed with some degree of confidence; and (2) the portent described in ll. 25 sqq. does not seem to be that which preceded the death of Sarpedon.

(1) GH, in dealing with the conflation of the two Sarpedons (p. 45), refer to Apollodorus III. i. 2: καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῆν—a sentence which recalls a line in the complaint of Teiresias in the *Melampodia*:<sup>2</sup>

ἐπτά τ' ἐπὶ ζῶειν γενεὰς μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

It is possible that it is a coincidence merely, that l. 20 of the new papyrus ends exactly as does the verse from the *Melampodia*: ]. μερόπων ἀνθρώπων; but if

<sup>1</sup> Rzach (1908), *frag.* 103.

<sup>2</sup> Rzach. *frag.* 161.

we take the express statement of Apollodorus about Sarpedon fully into account, we may pretty confidently restore

[τρεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ ζῶειν γενεὰ]ς μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

and take this to be explanatory of *τιμή* in l. 18. For the first part of the following verse I suggest *μηδ' ἀπογηράσκειν*: such an amplification of the gift of longevity was obviously necessary whether Sarpedon ended his long life fighting before Troy, or was represented by our poet (see below) as living on after his fight with Patroclus. *ἀπογηράσκειν* occurs in Theognis (821), but not in Hesiod; *ἐντέλλειν* in l. 21 is not the verb one would have expected in this context, but need not create any difficulty.

(2) The passage (ll. 25-28) describing the portent is somewhat difficult. But the colon at the end of l. 23 indicates that Sarpedon is the personage *πολέμοιο δαήμων*, and that we cannot introduce Patroclus as slayer of Sarpedon in l. 24: nor can we fit the Homeric *ψιάδες αἵματοέσσαι* into the first part of l. 25, where they should occur, if at all, before the participial phrase *ἐπ' ἀριστ]*εῖα *σήματα φαίνων*; nor, again, can these words, or an equivalent, find a place in l. 27—especially as the editors pronounce *αἶμ]ατος* out of the question. It seems almost impossible, then, to regard the portent under consideration as that which presaged the death of Sarpedon; indeed, the part played by the hero at Troy does not seem to be dealt with until ll. 29-30, and the narrative of his death may be thought to begin at l. 31. If this be so, the portent is most likely to have occurred as Sarpedon was setting out from Lycia for Troy, and ll. 25-26 may be restored in one of two ways. If the poet followed the Homeric account of the fate of Sarpedon we might read—

[τῷ δ' ὄρνιν προέηκ' ἐπ' ἀριστ]ερά, *σήματα φαίνων*  
[κῆρά τε παιδὶ φίλῳ Ζεὺς] ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς,

though in Homer Sarpedon has no such warning of his fate. I hope I shall not be thought perverse, however, in preferring a rather different type of reconstruction:

[οὐρανόθεν δὲ οἱ ἦκεν ὄγ' ἄστ]ερα, *σήματα φαίνων*  
[νόστον θ' ὑλὶ φίλῳ Ζεὺς] ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.

Sarpedon did indeed return to Lycia—in the arms of Sleep and Death; but if that were the 'return' referred to, *νόστος* must be used here in a cruelly ironical sense. Is it not possible that the Hesiodic poet took advantage of Zeus' indecision (II. 436-7) to represent—perhaps with ulterior motives—that Sarpedon was carried off *alive* from the battle? He may, for example, have tried to smoothe out the difficulties arising from the confusion of the two Sarpedons by transferring the Homeric account of Sarpedon I. (Z. 200-202) to the life of his composite Sarpedon *after he was carried back alive from Troy*. The process of reconciliation would be complete if we could suppose, further, that the hero was represented as being wounded only by Patroclus, and carried



back by Sleep and Death: perhaps Hera (as so often) was deceived. All this, however, would be building conjecture upon conjecture, were it not that the conflation of the two heroes necessitates the transference of the episode Z. 200-202 to the end of the life of the single figure, and that, without some such supposition, this episode must be thought to have been entirely ignored by the Hesiodic poet.

The whole passage, then, may be restored as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν Λυκίης τ' εὐρ]είης ἱφι ἄνασσε  
 παμπολέας τ' ἴθυνε πό]λεις ἐν ναιεταώσας  
 Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον. πολ]λὴ δ' ἐοῖ ἔσπετο τιμή,  
 τὴν οἱ δῶκε πατὴρ μεγαλή]τορι ποιμένι λαῶν.  
 20 τρεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ ζῶειν γενεὰ]ς μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 μῆδ' ἀπογηράσκειν ἐνετείλ]ατο μητίετα Ζεὺς ·  
 πέμπε δέ μιν Τροίηνδε. πολ]ὺν δ' ἐκρίνατο λαόν,  
 λεκτοὺς ἐκ Λυκίης φῶτας Τρ]ώεσσ' ἐπίκουρους ·  
 τοὺς ἄγε Σαρπηδῶν κρυεροῦ] πολέμοιο δαήμων.  
 25 οὐρανόθεν δὲ οἱ ἦκεν ὄγ' ἀστ]έρα, σήματα φαίνων  
 νόστον θ' νῆι φίλῳ Ζεὺς] ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.  
 . . . . . ]ατοὶ ἀμφιβαλούσαις  
 εὖ γὰρ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ οἶδ' ὅτι δὴ] Διόθεν τέρας ἦεν.  
 ἦ μέγ' ἀρίστευσέν τε μεθ' Ἑκτ]ορος ἀνδοφόνοιο  
 30 καὶ τεῖχος ῥῆξεν · Δαναοῖσι] δὲ κήδε' ἔθηκεν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀρ' ἔμπνευσεν κρατερὸν μένο]ς Ἀργεί[ο]ισι  
 Πάτροκλος . . . . .

L. 16. GH (with τ' inserted).

L. 18. cp. Hesiod *frag.* 103. l. 3.

L. 20. cp. Hesiod *frag.* 166. l. 5.

L. 22. cp. Z. 168, 207: the subject of πέμπε is Zeus.

L. 23. cp. Z. 188.

L. 25. cp. Δ. 475.

L. 30. cp. M. 290-293.

## II.

*Frag.* 2, Col. i, ll. 8 sqq.

Line 8 stands thus in the papyrus—

[. . . . .]' ἐπι ἐργα · καὶ ἦ[

The mark of elision immediately after the initial lacuna suggests that either a verb or τ' preceded by a genitive should be restored, and the καί<sup>2</sup> following makes the latter almost certain. Probably, then, the final lacuna also covers a

<sup>1</sup> The numeration is that of the papyrus. comma: cp. ll. 9, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The high stop seems to have the value of a

race-name in the genitive. In the notices of the γῆς περιόδος (Hesiod, *frag.* 60-62) only one race-name begins in H- — the Ἡμίκνυες. I suggest, then, that the line may have ended καὶ Ἡ[μικύνων ἀγερώχων (the epithet being mock-heroic, as in *Batrachomyomachia* 145). Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>1</sup> describes the Ἡμίκνυες as ‘a race not far from the Hyperboreans and the Massagetae’: the Hyperboreans are indeed mentioned in the papyrus-fragment (l. 20); but no reference to Ἡμίκνυες or Massagetae can be worked in there or near that place. It is therefore likely enough that the Hyperboreans were mentioned earlier, somewhere above l. 8; and that the first part of l. 8 was [Μασσαγετῶν τ]’ ἐπὶ ἔργα. This restoration is, of course, mere conjecture; but it may be put forward as a reasonable possibility.

The discoverers give in their notes (pp. 49-50) a tentative reconstruction of ll. 10 sqq., following Professor Murray’s suggestion that the φύλον Ὀνείρων may have been introduced here. My reason for offering an alternative is the apparent parallelism between ll. 9-10 and 17-18. The former stands as follows in the editors’ text—

[. . . . Κατουδ]άϊων · και Πυγ[μαιων  
[. . . . ἀπε]ιρεσιων μελάνο [

the latter reads—

[. . . .] μελανες τε και Αι[θ]ιοπες μεγαθυμοι  
[ηδε Κατου]δαιοι και Πυγμαί[οι] αμεινητοι.

In one line of each pair the Pygmies and Κατουδαίοι are mentioned, and in the other we have μελάνο[ corresponding to μέλανες. If we accept the editors’ μελανό[πτερον ὄχλον, we must pronounce the apparent correspondence between the two pairs to be accidental and the result of coincidence; but this is not likely. Is it not better to regard l. 17 as substantially equivalent to l. 10, and, ignoring the accent of μελάνο[ (which it would be hard to retain in any case), to restore the latter—

[φύλα τ’ ἀπε]ιρεσίων Μελανο[χρώτων Λιβύων τε]?

The correspondence between the two couplets is thus restored; and it is a matter of no moment that in l. 10 the Aethiopians are merely ‘black-skins,’ while in l. 17 they rejoice in their proper name and the Libyans<sup>2</sup> are called black: to the poet, doubtless, both peoples were equally black. μελανόχρως indeed seems to have no earlier authority than Euripides (*Hecuba*, 1106); but the Homeric forms μελανόχροος (τ. 146) and μελανόχροες (N. 589) may help to justify its use here. It is a form which a poet might conceivably invent for himself if indeed it were not already current. The use of a descriptive epithet in place of the noun to which it is ordinarily applied is, of course, a characteristic feature of Hesiod, as ἀνόστεος (*Works* 524); ἄτριχος (*Fr.* 96, l. 91).

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *frag.* 62. 3 (Rzach).

<sup>2</sup> The editors’ restoration of l. 17 τοῖο Λιβυῖ

μέλανες is surely confirmed by l. 15 (as against Professor Murray’s Κόλχοι γὰρ μέλανες).

What, then, of ll. 11-14? Probably the editors' restoration is as suited to the new context as to the old, except that *κωφούς* is no longer suitable at the opening of l. 13, and Mr. Lobel's *Ἐπαφος* might be inserted in l. 11. And if l. 12 does indeed ascribe seercraft to the Libyans, the reference—vague as it is—is doubtless to the famous Oracle of Amen at Siwah in the Libyan Desert.

I have ventured only to change the epithet in l. 11: ll. 13-14 are restored to convey the sense that those who seek to outwit the oracle will be misled by it and involve themselves in *ἄτη* (cp. *Hymn to Hermes*, 546-549).

For convenience the whole passage, in which the editors' restorations and those suggested above are combined, is here given:

[*Μασσαγετῶν τ'*] ἐπὶ ἔργα, καὶ Ἡ[*μικύνων ἀγερώχων*]  
 [ἡδὲ *Κατουδαίων*, καὶ *Πυγμαίων ἀμενῆνων*,]  
 10 [*φῦλα τ' ἀπε*]ιρεσίων *Μελανόχρωτων Λιβύων τε* ·]  
 [τοὺς *Ἐπάφω*] τέκε *Γαῖα* πελώ[*ρη χρησμόλογους τε*]  
 [*μαντοσύν*]ας τε *πανομφαίο*[*ν Διὸς εἰδότας αἴσῃ*,  
 [*ψεύστας δ', ὃ*]φρα *θεοῖσιν ὑφε*[*ιμ*]ένοι *ἄτασ*[*θῶ*]σι  
 [*ἄνθρωποι*], τῶν μὲν τε νόος [*γλ*]ωσσῆς *καθ*[*ύπ*]ερθεν.

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SOPHOCLES, *ELECTRA*, vv. 137 sqq.

ἀλλ' οὔτοι τόν γ' ἐξ 'Αΐδα  
παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρα ἀνστάσεις  
οὔτε γόοις οὔτε λιταῖσιν .

So the MSS.

In metre these lines correspond with vv. 121-122 :

ὦ παῖ, παῖ δυστανοτάτας  
'Ηλέκτρα ματρός, τίν' ἀεὶ τάκεις  
ὦδ' ἀκόρεστον οἰμωγάν.

In a previous article I have cited these lines in support of my emendation 'Ηλέκτρ' ἄτον for the MS. text 'Ηλέκτρα τόν, v. 1075. With Jebb I tacitly agreed that the word-order ὦδ' ἀκόρεστον οἰμωγάν was correct. The metre of vv. 138-9 οὔτε γόοις οὔτε λιταῖσιν must therefore be defective.

Hermann's emendation οὔτε γόοισιν οὔτ' ἄνταις has been as a rule accepted by subsequent editors. Jebb has pointed out that ἄντη is not well attested. A further objection is that the poet emphasizes the lament and mourning of the unhappy Electra rather than her prayers. Cf. vv. 89 sqq. :

ὦ δύσθεον μίσημα, σοὶ μόνη πατήρ  
τέθνηκεν ; ἄλλος δ' οὔτις ἐν πένθει βροτῶν ;  
κακῶς ὄλοιο, μηδέ σ' ἐκ γόων ποτὲ  
τῶν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειαν οἱ κάτω θεοί.

This passage shows that her mourning and her laments were the main points of her grief.

We may compare *Il.* 17. 37 :

ἀρητὸν τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας.

A reference to her λιταῖσιν or ἄνταις would therefore be pointless.

In uncials the scribe read :

IN  
Οὔτε γόοις Οὔπένθει

The two letters IN of γόοισιν were first omitted and then inserted above the line. Under the influence of the preceding οὔτε, οὔπε became οὔτε. The nu (N) was broken up into lambda iota (ΛΙ). The unintelligible λιθει was transformed into λιταῖς, to which was appended the IN that belonged to γόοις, giving λιταῖσιν.

So the sentence runs :

ἀλλ' οὗτοι τόν γ' ἐξ Ἀΐδα  
παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρα ἀνστάσεις  
οὔτε γόοισιν οὐ πένθει.

On palaeographical grounds οὐ πένθει for οὔτε λιταῖσιν is to my mind quite satisfactory.

Pitfalls of the palaeographical sort are manifold into which the *scriba dormitans* tumbled. Take for instance Euripides, *Helena* 1366 sq. :

εὖ δέ νιν ἄμασιν  
ὑπέρβαλε σελάνα  
μορφᾷ μόνον ἡὔχεις.

In his text Murray says : 1366 sq. *locus conclamatus*.

The keynote to the whole passage is the παννυχίδες θεᾶς of v. 1365. Dreaming of the moon shedding its rays on the festive hosts the scribe wrongfully transcribed σελάνα.

With much diffidence I propose :

ΕΤΔΕΝΙΝΑΛΜΑCΙΝ  
ΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΕCΕΛΑΕΝΑ  
ΜΟΡΦΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝΗΥΧΕΙC

i.e.

εὖ δέ νιν ἄλμασιν  
ὑπέρβαλες, Ἑλέν', ἃ  
μορφᾷ μόνον ἡὔχεις.

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## THE FORMAL BEAUTY OF THE *HERCVLES FVRENS*.

MANY critics have condemned, some have defended, Euripides for composing a play 'altogether wanting in the satisfaction which nothing but a unity of ideas could produce.' It helps us little to marvel, with Paley, at the 'obtuseness of critics who forsooth prefer "unity of ideas" to profoundly moving incidents, etc.,' though it may be admitted that Paley has detected part of the truth when he calls attention to the importance of the fact that Athens is, throughout the play, the only possible asylum for the hero. Verrall's analysis has the merit that it attempts to account for the play as a whole, but it is hard to believe that the Athenian audience was composed of subtle critics, endowed with Verrall's ingenuity and acumen. Still, though it is easy to disagree with Verrall, it is less easy to give the reasons for one's disagreement. In detail one can say: 'The straightforward and obvious sense of the words is adequate; the subtle suggestion is not likely to have occurred to an audience which had never heard of Schlegel or of Swinburne.' That leaves us with the fact that the impression made on most of us by the whole work is not one of formal perfection. To most readers there seem to be three episodes, each excellent, but not intimately connected with the other two: in the first we are concerned for the fate of the tyrant Lycus, and rejoice at his just destruction; in the second we are moved by the sudden reversal in the fortunes of the beneficent Heracles; and in the third we are impressed by the magnanimity, and, perhaps, delighted with the Athenian connections, of the excellent Theseus. There is a good deal of talk which we ascribe to the tendency of Euripides to make his characters the mouthpieces for current debate. There are choral odes which we think charming, but, on the whole and as a rule, slightly irrelevant to the main 'incidents.' My purpose in this paper is to suggest, first, that the audience was occupied with certain quite familiar ideas upon which Euripides has built his play, and was, therefore, not at leisure to catch at subtleties of detail, suggestions, ambiguities, ironies, points of logic and of lack of logic, such as Verrall emphasizes; and, secondly, that if we also remember these ideas, we shall find both unity in the construction and relevance in the choral odes.

The drama ends with a formal sentence from Heracles, which, in fact—though the critics seem to miss the fact—states in a final summary the theme that has given beauty to the whole:

He hath not health of mind who would possess  
Or wealth or strength—rather than faithful friends.



The response of the chorus, as it retires, is relevant :

And we have lost our friend !  
And so we go in sorrow and in tears.

The word ἐφολκίδες, spoken by Heracles immediately before his final sentence, recalls to the audience (quietly and, indeed, only subconsciously) the words with which the hero led his children into the palace (line 631). If you will look at the context of those words you will at once perceive the subtlety of the formal construction. There, as at lines 1,424 sqq., you will find that the phrase so pathetically recalled is followed by the mention, first of human love, then, and at first sight strangely, by a reference to the comparative unimportance of money :

Here all mankind are equal.  
Men who are nothing, men of the better sort,  
All love their children. Where's the difference  
'Twixt have and have-not ? Money ! Yet the love  
For their own children toucheth all alike.

The keynote of the play, then, is the thought that human love is better than money, better than physical strength. It is an old text of *Sophrosyne* : 'Put not your trust in riches, nor in strength : they are unstable : man knows not whether they shall turn to his advantage or his hurt.' When Theseus banishes the thought that Heracles has been transformed by his act of madness into a loathsome and abominable pollution, Euripides is grafting upon the ancient doctrine a new and pregnant moral.<sup>1</sup> How moving and how beautiful the introduction of that moral has been made we shall not realize unless we trace the themes of wealth and strength and friendship in the earlier scenes of the play. Heracles relied on strength, and his calamity has shown that strength can be a man's undoing as well as his salvation. Lycus, the usurper, aimed at riches unjustly, and has met the ruin he deserved. Theseus, the true friend, is greatest in his friend's adversity.

That thought pervades the play. It is for this that Amphytrion is made to end the prologue with the sententious words (lines 55 sqq.) :

Some of our friends prove false. They that are true  
Have not the power to aid us. 'Tis the tale  
Told ever by the infortunate, a tale,  
I pray, that none may tell who bear to me  
One thought of common kindness : 'tis the test  
And touchstone of true friends, Adversity.

Nor is it by accident that Megara, when she takes up the tale, introduces the first notes of the other theme, the theme of wealth and kingship. Her father, she tells us, was a man

<sup>1</sup> 1234 οὐδεὶς ἀλάστωρ τοῖς φίλο<sup>4</sup>, ἐκ τῶν φίλων.

Once vaunted high for wealth and happiness  
 Because he was a King—and for a throne  
 Your happy men run passionate, and welcome  
 The spearthrust in the flesh. He was a King . .  
 And blest with children. To your son he gave  
 His daughter, mating me with Heracles  
 The man of glory.

The value of that speech will not be apparent unless we remember how familiar to a Greek audience is the combination of *ἄλβος* and *δόξα* as the attributes of Kingship. Heracles is, of course, pre-eminently *ὁ κλεινός*. It is with bitter irony that his title is applied by Amphitryon to the usurper at line 38, and the fact gives value to the words *τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας* in line 39. The same familiar combination gives pathos to the words of Megara at lines 336 sqq.:

Come, children, come. With your sad mother pass  
 Into your father's house, whereof the wealth  
 Owns a new master . . . the good name is ours !

Nor are these references to the fame of Heracles forgotten in the tragic sequel. They contribute, whether we realize it or not, to the emotion stirred by the hero's lament for 'the good inheritance of glory' he had hoped to leave his sons (line 1,370).

But there is more than this. Just as Amphitryon's words prepare us for the magnanimity of Theseus and for the great development, in his person, of the theme of friendship, so the words of Megara attune our minds for the usurper's covetous ambition and his fall. Before the prelude ends, we hear from Amphitryon (lines 101-106) the familiar theme of the mutability of human fortune, spoken by him as reason for good hope, but suggesting to the audience, who know what is to come, the fall, not only of the tyrant, but also of the deliverer. Of the entry of the chorus I will only say that we have no right to complain of schoolboy laughter at the fatuity of these old gentlemen, with their so frank admission of their feebleness and senility—for all purposes save song—unless we explain to our class that Euripides is adapting for a new purpose a familiar convention, used with great effect by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*. Nor will our explanation make much difference, unless we add that the contrast, so conventionally introduced, between the weakness of age and the strength of youth is to be developed as one of the main *motifs* of the drama. These old men are weak for all purposes save song. To what purpose they will sing, we shall presently see. They are weak, and their weakness makes them long for the strength of Heracles. Nor is it accidental that their very phrasing is recalled by Amphitryon at 228 sqq. Presently Heracles himself will learn, in his own weakness (1,394 sqq.), that strength alone cannot save. Need I add that the last words of the *epode* *οἴους οἴους δλέσασα* . . . (136)

are not without relevance to the last words of the play τὰ μέγιστα φίλων ὀλέσαντες?

When the usurper, Lycus, appears we are left in no doubt that he is to behave as the typical bad king, or 'tyrant.' His might is his right (141), and, like all tyrants, he speaks of his persecution as 'due regard for safety' (165): the true caution of a king who looks for safety in his moderation, he lacks. He fears, as a tyrant proverbially does, all good men (208); and, in contrast to Heracles, the good king who has earned his title by service to his country (186, 220), he receives from Amphitryon the name of 'worst of kings.' His wickedness culminates in a reassertion of might as the basis of his right, when he cries: 'Burn the suppliants . . . that they may know, 'tis not the dead man is to-day the Master here (κρατεῖ 246), but I.' What follows? He turns to the old citizens who sympathize with the ancient royal house, and chides them in the tone of Aegisthus in the *Agamemnon*, telling them: 'When the blow has fallen, you will recognize yourselves, the slaves of my *Tyrannis*!' In that phrase, *Tyrannis* is not simply 'Kingship': definitely and certainly it is an unconstitutional, immoral, violent rule. And the word is used from this point onward (388, 474, 567, 644) in the evil sense. Three times in our immediate context we hear the odious name of Master (254, 274, 278). The thought that Lycus is a wicked tyrant, possessing all the odious characteristics of his detestable class, gains further strength from the contrast which the choral ode (348 sqq.) implies with the beneficent Heracles, whose claim to be a just and rightful king is based upon his service to mankind.

It was not Antisthenes or Xenophon or Plato who invented the stock tyrant and elaborated the contrast between the good king and the bad. Homer's good king is 'gentle, like a father to his people'; and his bad king lives and fights for his own gain. Thucydides did not invent the theory that the policy of despots is self-seeking: Aristotle did not discover for himself the notion that good kings derive their power from their own service to their fellow-citizens. Lycus gets his character not from Euripides, but from the proverbial talk of generations of democratic or aristocratic poets, politicians and gossips. Now one main and almost invariable element in the picture of the stock bad king is his greed for wealth, his covetous desire to have riches, at the expense, if need be, of justice and of modesty. Lycus is treated as a conventional tyrant in order that his fall may illustrate the futility of wealth.

The hero returns and saves his family. We must ignore, for the moment, the main interest of the scene, and fix our attention on the motives and conduct of Lycus. In 588 we learn the nature of the 'civil strife' which gave him his chance of usurpation. His supporters are 'many poor men, poor though they pass for rich, who cause sedition and ruin the city, in order that they may prey upon their neighbours—since their own estates had gone in spendthrift extravagance because of their idleness.' We are thus introduced to the familiar motive of the tyrant's 'unjust gains.' This thought, that Lycus and his party aimed at wealth, and for the moment have won it, is the dramatic



reason for several phrases in the chorus (637 sqq.) which praises youth at the expense of old age, declaring that good men should have a double span of youth to distinguish them from bad, because, at present, Wealth (673) is the only sign of superiority. It is because of the relevance of this theme that the chorus sing, in our familiar ancient formula: 'Not for me the wealth of an Asiatic *Tyrannis*, not for me a house full of gold in exchange for Youth!' The strength of youth is the strength of Heracles. The gold is the gold of the usurper.

In his last short swaggering appearance the tyrant is reminded by Amphitryon of the 'modest mean' which he has always neglected (709), and he passes to his fate in the spirit of a doomed man, confident and free from fear (723).

The chorus which celebrates his fall has been in part elucidated by Walter Headlam, who points out that it is clearly modelled on the ideas of Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 381 sqq., 470 sqq. In one point, however, I think that Headlam has missed the sense through a false reading.<sup>1</sup> In the *Agamemnon* the wicked man is destroyed by *pride* in his wealth and success. That is what actually happened to Agamemnon. Lycus became a tyrant through *greed* for wealth and success, which is a different matter. As I have tried to show elsewhere, grammar demands the reading  $\phi\thetaονεῖν$  for  $\phi\rhoονεῖν$  in 775. This is what the chorus say:

'The gods indeed attend to the injustice and the piety of men. . . . Gold and Prosperity lure a man to envy them, and so produce' (i.e. by making him compass it) 'a Tyranny: but in the end the Reverse of Fortune is too terrible to contemplate. The usurper, having once thrown over law' (i.e. in his usurpation) 'gives the rein to his lawlessness' (as did Lycus in his persecution of the children of Heracles), 'and so smashes to pieces the chariot of his prosperity, now black with ruin.'

So much for Lycus and his wealth. Let us return to Heracles. He is, of course, by no means a conventional 'good king': the passionate human spirit of this living hero is more moving to us precisely because the tyrant whom he overthrows has been presented as a figure of traditional outline and of meagre personality. Yet we shall miss not only poetic value, but also tragic significance, if we ignore the lyrics, and treat the hero simply as the creation of a free and realistic imagination. He is more than that. He stands for the triumphant strength of mortal men, who often, when their strength is greatest, stand before the crisis of their mortal weakness.

We have seen that the choral ode which precedes the hero's return contributes to the drama by contrasting the true ruler with the false. We have now to add that it contributes to the greater tragedy by celebrating the strength of Heracles, the source of his calamity. The final stanza (436 sqq.), in which the old men again lament that the strength of youth has left them,

<sup>1</sup> See Headlam, in *J.Ph.* XXX., p. 297 sq., p. 68 sq. and my note in *Class. Rev.* XXIX., May, 1915.

heightens once more our sense of the importance of this theme. Before the entrance of the deliverer both Megara and Amphitryon speak words on which I make no other comment than this: that I hope no critic will now call them 'undramatic.' First Megara tells how Heracles, 'proud in his strength of manhood'—ominous words—had promised kingdoms (474 *Tyrannides*) to his little sons. Then Amphitryon, in a magnificent oration, laments the fugitive hopes of men, and tells us how his own great wealth and reputation have melted away. Surely all this is not irrelevant to the coming tragedy? Well, if you are not satisfied, look back to the chorus in which the hero's great achievements have just been sung by persons who believe that he is dead. 'Phoebus,' say these mourners, 'laments for Linus, who died because of his beauty. We sing a nobler hero, even Heracles, who perished in toil and virtuous labours for mankind.' No irony is there: no hint to the audience of disaster. The main point is the honourable labour, now apparently thrown away. The strength (434) to which his children looked for protection is no longer with them. Then look again at the ode which celebrates the helper's safe return. See how the theme of strength is now developed (637 sqq.)—this time with hints of triumph, and, in one respect, of a very dangerous kind of triumph.

The first passage, which has in mind the conflict with Lycus and his wealth, we have already discussed. But the second half, in which the chorus say that they still can sing, and would not live without the Muses, is not simply (as has been supposed) a sentimental and irrelevant expression of a laudable devotion to poetry. Why will these old people cling to their music? To sing, with the aid of Mnemosyne, the triumph song for Heracles! 'The Delian maidens sing their Paean in honour of Apollo.' This chorus will chant its paean too, but for Heracles! Not only does this passage delightfully recall the earlier ode (where Phoebus sang of Linus, our chorus of Heracles), but surely, also, it reaches a pitch of dangerous praise. The famous Heracles is too famous now for security. 'Let others sing to Apollo. We will sing to you, the very son of Zeus!' (687 sqq.).

Am I indulging my fancy? Well, when you turn to the hymn of triumph over the usurper's fall, when you have heard of the ruinous end of unjust wealth, what follows? You return to the praise of Heracles, and it is expressed in very remarkable terms. The Nymphs of the Theban waters are to sing for him (lines 784 sqq.); the rocks of Apollo's Delphi and the haunts of the Heliconian Muses are actually to come to Thebes to express their admiration. The son of Zeus? Of course he is! (Theseus, and Heracles himself, in his right mind, know that it is Euripidean impiety to suppose it, 1,316, 1,341.) Time has revealed the hero's *strength* in all its splendour. And better Heracles as despot (*Tyrannus*) of the land than the ill-born king that is fallen.

This excessive adulation is the prelude to the fall of the hero. Do not, please, suppose that I am trying to show that Euripides thought the fate of Heracles was just. I only suggest that he made it more exciting by this use



of the current notion that excessive confidence and excessive praise are dangerous. I submit that Sophocles has even more subtly used a similar method. His Oedipus, whom the priest has honoured almost, not quite, as if he were more than human, is hailed by the chorus as the son of a god in the moment of reckless confidence which immediately precedes his fall. And although he certainly is not ruined because of pride, the contrast between his transitory, yet almost superhuman, greatness and the sure abiding Kingship of the Zeus who governs all the world, contributes much to the tragic significance of his fall. Similarly, though Oedipus is not, by any means, an adventurer, set on his own profit, Sophocles, to the confusion of the critics, has introduced the theme of the unjust gain. Oedipus is disinterested, a ruler who cares more for his people than for his own life. Yet, when he thinks a plot is on foot against his throne, he behaves for a moment as if he were a suspicious, grasping despot. The chorus tremble for him, and fear that he is one 'who will not follow justice in his pursuit of gain.' We know that they are wrong. But the tragedy moves us all the more because we see that they have some excuse for their mistake: and we have little patience with the editors who think the Sophoclean ode 'irrelevant.'

Many details have been omitted. Much illustration would be needed if I were to try to show how familiar are the fundamental commonplaces to the audience.<sup>1</sup> Enough, I hope, has been said to show the reader the main lines on which the criticism of the composition should proceed. Turn again to the last words of the hero:

ὅστις δὲ πλοῦτον ἢ σθένος μᾶλλον φίλων  
ἀγαθῶν πεπᾶσθαι βούλεται, κακῶς φρονεῖ.

I said that in this play Euripides has given a new and beautiful significance to an old text of *Sophrosyne*. *Sophrosyne* means that a mortal man should think the thoughts that befit a mortal. And, let us remember,

τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον.

How deep is the thought which lies behind the commonplace you may realize if you think of the Stoic prayer—not for riches, but for *mens sana in corpore sano*, or of its Christian equivalent, the prayer for 'health in mind, body, and estate.' Health in estate means, not the wealth of Gyges, Midas, Pelops, Lycus, but a modest competence with good sense for its enjoyment. Health in body means, not the power to wrestle with lions and to overthrow force by force, but a sufficient freedom from great physical pain or weakness.

<sup>1</sup> Here is one good example:—Pindar, *Isthmians* III. 1: εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχῆσαις ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι ἢ σθένει πλούτου κατέχει φρασὶν αἰαντὴ κόρον. . . . Here you have the athlete's strength and glory, the rich man's power and wealth combined: and the moral is, of course, *Sophrosyne*: ζῶει δὲ μάσσων ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων πλαγίαις δὲ

φρένεσιν οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων ὁμιλεῖ. Nor can I refrain from quoting the familiar lines in which Theocritus has given so characteristic a reading of *Sophrosyne*:

μή μοι γὰρ Πέλοπος, μή μοι Κροίσεια τάλαντα  
εἴη ἔχειν, μηδὲ πρόσθε θεῶν ἀνέμων·  
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τᾷ πέτρᾳ τᾷδ' ἄσσομαι, ἀγκὰς ἔχων τυ . . .



Health of mind—well, we know that it means contentment with the modest measure of prosperity justly won : and we know that this is missed by men such as Lycus. We know also that it means a modest sense of the relative importance of ourselves and of the universe. The much-abused Euripidean discussion of the myth of the hero's divine origin is not, after all, so irrelevant as critics think. But Euripides, if I am not mistaken, has something even better to commend than modesty of mind. When the world has learnt the insignificance of the wealth which force can ravish, and which force can take again from the ravisher . . . or dissipate in the attempt to take it : when it has learnt that the force which may be used for the deliverance of the oppressed, may also, unless love and reason wield it, be abused, and turn the deliverer into the executioner of his own children, the murderer of his own hopes : then it may recognize the value of the poet's craft. In the meantime, it is not because the syntax of dead languages affords so excellent an intellectual gymnastic, but because the Greeks can teach us something of the value of such things as moderation, reason, and, above all, friendship, that it is still worth while to teach more Greek than chemistry at school.

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## ON TWO PASSAGES OF THE *ORESTES*.

696: 'The populace,' says Menelaus, 'when roused to anger, is difficult to deal with; but if when it rages one slacks the sheet, watching an opportunity, the storm may blow itself out. And when it moderates its blasts, one may easily win one's will of it.<sup>1</sup> It is capable of pity and nobility, qualities most precious to one who bides his time.'

ἐλθὼν δὲ Τυνδάρεών τέ σοι πειράσομαι  
 705 πόλιν τε πείσαι τῷ λίαν χρῆσθαι καλῶς.  
 καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθείσα πρὸς βίαν ποδὶ  
 ἔβαψεν, ἔστη δ' αὖθις ἦν χαλᾷ πόδα.  
 μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας,  
 μισοῦσι δ' ἄστοί · δεῖ δέ μ', οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω,  
 710 σῶζειν σε σοφία μὴ βία τῶν κρεισσόνων.

The objection to ll. 704-7 as they stand at present is this. In 706 sq. Menelaus figures himself as a navigator saving the ship by judicious manipulation of the sheets in a storm. Now since the ship with which Menelaus is concerned carries the fortunes, not of Tyndareos and Argos, but of Orestes, it is plain that in 705 χρῆσθαι should depend directly on πειράσομαι; for as long as πείσαι intervenes between them, Menelaus is made to say that his efforts are concerned with the safety of Tyndareos, and that is not only false but in the highest degree inappropriate. The two sentences can be reduced to order by reading for πείσαι, πείσας with Hermann, πείθων with Weil, or (if anyone thinks that an improvement) θέλων with Wecklein: that is, by sacrificing the form of the first couplet.

Now it is to be observed that 704 sq., if they stood alone, would provide perfectly satisfactory sense: 'I will try and persuade Tyndareos and the city to temper passion with discretion,' or, in short, 'to behave like gentlemen.' The words τῷ λίαν χρῆσθαι καλῶς elude translation, but that, I take it, is what they mean, and I venture to think that but for 706 sq. no one would suspect that Menelaus, not Tyndareos, could be the subject of χρῆσθαι. For if Menelaus is the subject, then τῷ λίαν χρῆσθαι καλῶς means 'to make good use of *their* passion,' and that rendering leaves upon my mind three unfavourable impressions, for I will not claim that they are more than impressions. First and least important, that if Euripides had wished us to understand that

<sup>1</sup> I am not here concerned with the difficulties of 698-701, and give what I conceive to be the sense. The metaphor is nautical, and for my present purpose that suffices.

Menelaus is the subject, it would have been charitable to write σοφῶς. Secondly, that τὸ λίαν in Euripides is a fault of personal conduct or temper scarcely at the disposal of a second party. Thirdly, that 'to make good use of passion' is an intelligible expression if it means 'to return to reason;' hardly so if it means, as on this hypothesis it must, 'to bring to reason.'

There is one other point. What 708 means I am not certain, and if the dislike of heaven and earth for αἱ ἄγαν προθυμίας is Menelaus's reason for employing diplomacy only at this juncture, there is no more to be said. But αἱ ἄγαν προθυμίας is an odd description of military coercion or the mood which prompts it, and Menelaus has said just before (ll. 688 sqq.) and repeats just after with emphasis (711 sqq.) that his real reason for not resorting to force is that he has no force to resort to; and with that sufficient reason a mere fear of appearing officious consorts strangely. But if these ἄγαν προθύμια are not Menelaus's, they are Tyndareos's and the city's, and the phrase is, as, after all, one expects, a paraphrase of τὸ λίαν. And if so, I suggest that 'I will try and persuade Tyndareos and the city to behave reasonably, for over-vehemence' (I borrow from Mr. Way) 'is disliked by gods and men' is sense, and that 'will try by persuasion to make good use of their unreason for, etc.,' in this context is not. The impiousness and unpopularity of αἱ ἄγαν προθυμίας are a reason which Menelaus will urge with Tyndareos, but they are not among the reasons which prompt his own proposed *démarche*.

In view of these considerations, therefore, what I ask here is this. First, whether having had a ship and storm metaphor in 698 sqq. and got clear of it at 702, anyone admires its repetition in slightly different form at 705. Secondly, whether 708 would not look better if it immediately followed 705. Or, in short, whether 706 sq. are not an adscript parallel to 698-701<sup>1</sup> which has been incorporated by accident and in the wrong place, interrupting the sequence of the discourse and compelling us first to emend and then to construe unnaturally a straightforward sentence in 704 sq.

1163: 'Since I must die,' says Orestes, 'I should like to do my enemies some mischief first in return for their treachery. I will not disgrace my parentage by a servile death, but

1170

ἐλευθέρως

ψυχὴν ἀφῆσω Μενέλεων δὲ τίσομαι.  
 ἐνὸς γὰρ εἰ λαβοίμεθ', εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν,  
 εἴ ποθεν ἄελπος παραπέσοι σωτηρία  
 κτανούσι μὴ θανούσιν· εὖχομαι τάδε.  
 ὃ βούλομαι γὰρ ἡδὺν καὶ διὰ στόμα  
 πτηνοῖσι μύθοις ἀδαπάνως τέρψαι φρένα.

'Ενός in l. 1172 might be either neuter or masculine. If it is neuter, the second εἰ clause presumably defines its meaning: 'for if we attained one end—

<sup>1</sup> If they are an adscript, the original context though I will not urge that as a reason in favour of the hypothesis.



if somehow we might slay and then be saved from death ourselves—we should be fortunate.’ If on the other hand it is masculine and refers to Menelaus, then the sense must be (in Mr. Wedd’s words): ‘for if we were to escape after the murder, then it would be true that if we killed only one enemy we should be lucky enough.’ As a sequel to the sentiment ‘I must die, but I will be avenged on Menelaus first,’ the renderings leave little to choose in absurdity and inconsequence. Mr. Wedd therefore proposes to regard *εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν* as ironical, ‘we should indeed be lucky if . . .,’ that is to say ‘it is impossible that . . .’; and, taking *ένός* to be neuter, he paraphrases: ‘I will die in punishing Menelaus; die, I say, for there is one thing too good to be true, i.e. that I should both punish Menelaus and escape myself.’ Against this suggestion it may, I think, be urged that the proposed interpretation of *εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν* requires a good deal more support than the passages Mr. Wedd quotes, and that the logical connexion looks a good deal better in Mr. Wedd’s paraphrase than it does in Euripides. The contrast between life and death makes all the difference, and Euripides has contrasted not life and death, but death noble and ignoble.

The difficulties of the passage, as it seems to me, mostly disappear if for the comma at the end of 1172 we substitute a colon or full-stop, and then regard l. 1173 as a wish. ‘I will die nobly and be revenged on Menelaus; for if we get hold of one we shall be lucky. Would that it were possible to combine vengeance and escape. That is my *prayer*, which I utter for the pleasure utterance gives, though I know it cannot be realized.’ What Orestes explains in 1172 is why he limits his proposed reprisals to Menelaus when there are Tyndareos and others who also deserve punishment. In 1173 he contrasts the ideal dénouement with the unfortunate circumstances of which he must now make the best. I have not noted a wish introduced by *εἴ ποθεν*, but *εἰ* alone in wishes occurs in Euripides (e.g. *Hec.* 836), and to this particular wish *ποθέν* is an almost necessary addition. Still, if anyone objects to a wish so introduced, a possible alternative is to treat 1173 as a conditional sentence in which some such apodosis as *ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη* is replaced anacoluthically by *εὐχομαι τάδε*.

In the paraphrase just given I have treated *ένός* as masculine; it might, with the proposed punctuation, be either masculine or neuter, and neither view is free from difficulty. If it is neuter, then *ένός λαβέσθαι* for *ἐν λαβεῖν* is, as Wecklein says, remarkable. If it is masculine, then there is force in Mr. Wedd’s objection that *prima facie* this implies an intention to do Menelaus personal violence, whereas Orestes’s scheme is in fact to requite Menelaus by the murder of Helen. On the whole I prefer to regard it as masculine, and to suppose (with Paley) that *λαβέσθαι* is used in an extended and figurative sense.

A. S. F. Gow.

## THE LYRCEIAN WATER.

### A PASSAGE IN APOLLONIUS.

THERE is a passage of considerable difficulty in Apollonius, i. 124 :

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἶε βάξιν ἀγειρομένων ἡρώων,  
νεῖον ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Λυρκήιον Ἄργος ἀμείψας  
τὴν ὁδὸν ἥ ζωὸν φέρε κάπριον, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ βήσσης  
φέρβετο Λαμπείης Ἐρυμάνθιον ἄμ μέγα τίφος,  
τὸν μὲν ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι Μυκηναίων ἀγορήσιν  
δεσμοῖς ἰλλόμενον μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο νώτων,  
αὐτὸς δ' ἥ ἰότητι παρέκ νόον Εὐρυσθήος  
ώρμήθη.

Heracles had gone to Arcadia to fetch the Erymanthian boar ; when he had just returned he heard of the voyage of Argo, and, hastily depositing the boar at Mycenae, departed to join Jason without the knowledge of Eurystheus. *Λυρκήιον Ἄργος ἀμείψας* is supposed to mean 'having come to Lyrceian Argos.' But, first, *ἀμείβω Ἄργος* ought not to mean 'I come to Argos'; *ἀμείβω* and *ἀμείβομαι* alike mean either *change* or *pass* or *leave*; *enter* they do not mean. The lexica quote passages as meaning *enter* which do not mean any such thing; *θύρας* or *βαλὸν ἀμείβω* is 'I *pass* the door or threshold,' *πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀμείβω* or *ἀμείβομαι* is 'I *change* one city for another,' *ἀμείβομαι ἔρκος ὁδόντων* 'I *pass* the hedge of the teeth,' and so on. Until I see an instance of it I shall not believe that *πόλιν ἀμείβω* can mean merely 'I enter or come to a city.' Nor can we take it to mean 'pass' in this place, because the road from Arcadia to Mycenae does not pass Argos. Secondly, what is 'Lyrceian Argos'? Whether a river or a mountain be implied by 'Lyrceian,' it is not a Greek expression; we do not speak of Hymettian Athens or Cephisian Athens, of Cithaeronian or Asopian Thebes or Boeotia. There is indeed found the expression *Πηλιῶτιν Ἰωλκὸν* in Euripides, *Medea* 484, and the scholiast on iv. 131 says that *Τιτηνίδος Αἴης* means 'Aea of the river Titen,' referring to Eratosthenes as his authority for the river, but no one else knows anything about it, and it is more than probable that Mr. Mooney is right in regarding it with suspicion. Thirdly, Heracles did not go to Argos, for he turned aside on the road that Eurystheus might not interfere with his joining Jason. But are we concerned with a river or a mountain, or was it perhaps both? The scholiast says: *ἀπὸ ὄρους Ἀργείου ἀκουστέον, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰναχος καταφέρεται ποταμός*. Statius *Theb.* iv. 117, 711 makes it a river, mentioning it along with

Lerna and Inachus. Ovid *Met.* i. 597, 'Iam pascua Lernaë | consitaque arboribus Lyrcea reliquerat arua,' rather seems to think of it as a river, since as such it goes better with watery Lerna and with 'arua consita arboribus.' Strabo, Hesychius, Steph. Byz., only know it as a mountain. Thus the Greek authority, and the best on every ground, says a mountain, and I believe the Latin poets, at least Statius and probably Ovid, made a mistake in taking it for a river. And I think they may have drawn their water partly from this very source.

How so? Why should *Λυρκήιον Ἄργος* suggest a river? It did not; but then neither did Apollonius write *Λυρκήιον Ἄργος*. We have seen that this line is excessively suspicious on three distinct grounds: *ἀμείψας* would most naturally mean 'passing,' the epithet is no epithet for a city, and Heracles neither went to nor passed Argos on this journey. The scholiast gives us a hint; why should he add the words *ἀφ' οὗ Ἰναχος καταφέρεται ποταμός*? Because what Apollonius said was that Heracles had just passed the Inachus, as he would or might do on his way back from Erymanthus to Mycenae.

To come to the point, Apollonius said *Λυρκήιον ἄρδος*, the Lyrceian waters. I could never have hit upon this if Mr. Wyse had not some five-and-twenty years ago imparted to me a most beautiful emendation of his, which he allows me here to publish, in the first line of Eurip. *Electra*: *ὦ γῆς παλαιὸν ἄρδος*. There also *ἄρδος* became *Ἄργος*. About the immense superiority of Mr. Wyse's suggestion to any others proposed there can hardly be two opinions; the word *ἄρδος* is unimpeachably formed, and if it has perished off the face of the earth that is no wonder; the same fate has befallen other rare words beyond doubt. And Euripides adds the explanation, *Ἰνάχου ῥοαί*; Apollonius thus is here simply echoing Euripides, and the two corrections confirm one another.

But now, to clinch the matter yet closer, let us see what Steph. Byz. says: *ὄρος Ἄργους. Καλλίμαχος Ἐκάλῃ. τὸ τοπικὸν Λύρκειον ὕδωρ καὶ Λυρκήιον*. We can hardly be wrong in following Meineke and supposing the 'Lyrceian water' to come from Callimachus, and this also supports strongly my theory that Apollonius was here referring to the river. The Inachus then is thus described by the poets:

Eurip. *γῆς παλαιὸν ἄρδος*.

Callim. *Λυρκήιον (?) ὕδωρ*.

Apoll. *Λυρκήιον ἄρδος*.

It is no wonder, if this be so, that the Latin poets were misled into inventing an imaginary river.

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## NOTES ON HIEROCLES STOICVS.

Ἠθικὴ στοιχείωσις Column 2. 27.

The bear, says Hierocles, is aware that its head is easily injured, and instinctively uses its paws as a protection. The three following lines in the papyrus are badly damaged—*κὰν εἰ π. ε . . . δεηθείη τοῦ | βαλανείου* <lacuna of twenty letters> *κρημνοῦ | πάλιν ὑπ* <nineteen letters> *ἐφίησιν ἐ | αὐτήν.* This is followed by a description of what the bear does when it is pursued and comes to a precipice. It inflates itself (*ἀσκῶ ποιήσασα πεπνευματωμένῳ παραπλησίαν*) and trusts to the inflation to break its fall. It is hardly possible to restore the damaged lines. Von Arnim thinks that the sense required is: ‘wenn die Bärin, vom Jäger verfolgt, eines Bades bedarf oder auf ihrer Flucht an einen Abgrund kommt, *πάλιν ὑπ* <οστρέψασα ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας> *ἐφίησιν ἑαυτήν.*’ But a sensible bear would hardly think of taking a bath when pursued by the hunter. It might take to the water; but the Greek for this would be somewhat different. As I read the passage, there is no reference to the bear as pursued by the hunter till line 34, where I would read *ποιεῖ δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε* <*διωκομένη*>, since the phrase *εἰ δ’ οὖν διωκομένη* in line 38 is resumptive, and implies that the pursuit must have been alluded to before. But before line 35 H. is only describing what the bear does to protect its head in the ordinary routine of its life when it is not harassed by the hunter. It wants a bath, and finds that it cannot reach the water without clambering down an overhanging bank (*κρημνός*). It will not climb down head foremost, but guards its head by sliding backwards down the bank. As the bear would want its bath because it was hot, it is perhaps not too hazardous to conjecture that some phrase such as *κὰν εἰ π* <*ι*> *ε* <*ζομένη πνίγει*> *δεηθείη τοῦ β.* should find its place in line 31.

*Ibid.* 5. 13.

*τά τε ἔλκη φυλάττομεν ἀπρόσκρουστα καὶ †ἄθλητα† κοιμώμενοι βαθέως.*

Hierocles is discussing the consciousness of self which all living things possess (4. 58 *συναισθάνεται δ’ οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ζῶον*), and is enforcing his argument—not very effectively—by appealing to the reflex actions of the human body when asleep. Thus we guard a wounded part from being knocked. The reading of the papyrus, *ἄθλητα*, presents us with an unknown and doubtful word. The papyrus is a private copy and not free from mistakes, cf. col. 2. 59 where *ἐπιτίνοῦσα* is written for *ἐπιγνοῦσα*. Accordingly we need not hesitate to correct what is probably a slip of the pen. Crönert in his *Lexicon* s.v.

suggests that the reading should be ἄθικτα. Should it not rather be ἄθλιπτα—a word used by Galen? We guard a wound from being knocked or chafed.

*Ibid.* 4. 54.

Μαρτύρια δὲ . . . πιστὰ τῶν λόγων τὰ συμβαίνοντα.

Von Arnim will not allow ἀξιόπιστα to fill the lacuna in the papyrus. Perhaps οὐκ ἄπιστα. Hierocles is fond of the double negative, e.g. οὐ χεῖρον 1. 2; οὐκ ἀγνοητέον 6. 10; οὐκ ἂν ἀκαίρως 7. 51; οὐκ ἀνεντρεχὲς 50. 22.

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AN ATTEMPT TO DATE THE COMPOSITION OF  
*AENEID VII.*<sup>1</sup>

THE following notes have been made during a long-continued study of *Aeneid* vii. (and viii.), with a constantly growing conviction of the priority of these books in point of composition. They deal with internal evidence and literary correspondences only. Examination of the metre has not produced any very definite results, so when I noted in one of the most recent articles on Vergilian metre<sup>2</sup> the statement that 'a comparison and analysis of the separate books of the *Aeneid* does not give any results worthy of note' (with an exception that has not much bearing on this investigation), it seemed that these notes might appear without further waiting, though their argument is almost entirely subjective.

The passages from book vii. follow in the order of their occurrence.

vii. 44, 45.           *māior* rerum mihi nascitur ordo ;  
                               *māius* opus moueo.

All commentators find some difficulty in this; how could the warfare in Italy compare with the fall of Troy, or with Aeneas's tremendous experiences in the underworld? It is possible to say, of course, that Vergil as an Italian felt that the war in Italy was the culmination of the life of Aeneas and the beginning of the mighty history of Rome, and that therefore books vii.-xii. form a *maius opus* than i.-vi.; but all trouble would be avoided if we could suppose book vii. to be the first work taken in hand after the completion of the *Georgics*.<sup>3</sup> Prof. Ridgeway, in an article in a recent *Classical Quarterly*,<sup>4</sup> gives some slight support to this. He quotes lines 37 sqq.:

nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum,  
                   .                  .                  .                  .  
                   .                  .                  .                  .  
 expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.  
 tu uatem, tu, diua, mone,

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the American Philological Association, at Haverford College, on Wednesday, December 30, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> W. G. D. Butcher, 'The Caesura in Vergil,' *Classical Quarterly*, viii. p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> This was written before the appearance of

Prof. A. Gercke's *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*. I am glad to see that he takes *maior minus* to allude to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, quoting in addition *Ecl.* iv. 5, *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo* (pp. 74, 75).

<sup>4</sup> Vol. vi. p. 239.





Rothstein's<sup>1</sup> argument that Vergil copied Propertius in the *Aeneid*, while Propertius copied the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, does not seem convincing. One might profitably quote Prof. Wight Duff:<sup>2</sup> 'What baffles exhaustive disentanglement is the manifest interplay of genius. Professor Mackail cites the parallel of the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798. The *Ancient Mariner* is Coleridge's, but it owes to Wordsworth elements which we definitely know, and others which we might guess but can never know. Similarly the Wordsworth of these *Ballads* is not entirely himself: he is in part Coleridge.'

A minor coincidence in English poetry is perhaps interesting. Wordsworth in the Prefatory Sonnet writes:

Bees that soar for bloom  
High as the highest Peak of Furness Fells,  
Will murmur by the hour in foxglove bells,

while Keats, in his sonnet 'O Solitude,' has,

Startles the wild bee from the foxglove bell.

Too much should not be made of these correspondences, but it seems to me that the lines of Propertius would suggest that before 26 B.C. he had heard read *Aen.* vii. and viii., and that therefore these books came early, if not earliest, in point of composition.

vii. 59-63. The description of the laurel in the midst of Latinus's palace may be compared with the laurel in Priam's palace, ii. 512-514. Note that there are five lines in book vii. as opposed to three in book ii. Also note that in vii. there immediately follows the prodigy of the swarm of bees (*densae*, l. 64)., and in ii. the simile of the doves (*condensae*, l. 517). Also *altaria* in the same place in the line, and with elision before it follows in both passages.

vii. 71. *dum altaria taedis* |.

ii. 515. *nequiquam altaria circum*. |

vii. 71-77. (Lavinia's hair catching fire) may also be compared with ii. 681-686 (of Ascanius). There are seven lines in book vii. to six in book ii. The resemblance in *wording* is not very close,

but vii. 72. *iuxta genitorem*

may be compared with

ii. 681. *manus inter maestorumque ora parentum*.

and vii. 75. *ac-censa comas* with

ii. 684. *flamma comas*, where *comas* appears in the same place in the line.

Also *subitum* appears in vii. 67, and in ii. 680.

106-115. I have referred in a note in the *Classical Review*<sup>3</sup> to the close resemblance between these lines, which describe the landing of the Trojans at the mouth of the Tiber, and the first meal eaten on shore, and those in the first book (especially lines 169, 173, 177-8) dealing with their similar experience in

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes* xxiv. (1889) 1-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Literary History of Rome*, p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* xx. 113 *et seq.*

Africa; and to the conflation of the two passages by Ovid.<sup>1</sup> For the present purpose it will suffice to note that two striking words *Cereale* . . . *Cererem*. vii. 111, 113, are brought into a single line in i. 177,

tum *Cererem* corruptam undis *Cerealiaque* arma  
expediunt.

I shall try to show the significance of this later.

109-129. The impossibility of harmonizing this passage—the eating of the tables—with the prophecy in book iii. 250-257 is well known; and the same difficulties occur in the story of the white sow in book viii., where no reference is made to the prophecy of Helenus, iii. 390 sqq. In book vii., when Aeneas accepts the omen, he refers the prophecy to Anchises, with four lines purporting to give his exact words. Now supposing this book to have been written first, before the poet had decided on the details of the earlier part of his story, Anchises was the obvious person to whom a prophecy of the future of the Trojans might be assigned. But is it conceivable that after writing the elaborate story of the Harpy in book iii., where Anchises himself prays for the omen to be averted, Vergil could ‘by a curious slip’ (Sidgwick *ad loc.*; Page calls it ‘a clear oversight’) attribute the prophecy to Anchises? Note too that the Harpy’s curse is twice afterwards referred to in book iii.; Aeneas relates it to Helenus, and Helenus speaks of it in his reply.

I had noted this before reading Boissier<sup>2</sup> on the episode. He says: ‘Il est donc vraisemblable que la prédiction des Harpies a été ajoutée plus tard par le poète. Je ne crois pas qu’il soit téméraire de supposer . . . que Virgile ne l’a fait que parce qu’il craignait le mauvais effet que pouvait produire son récit sur quelques lecteurs et qu’il voulait le justifier et les y préparer d’avance.’ Above he remarks on the suitability of this rôle for the Harpies, ‘vieilles divinités grecques, grossières et un peu grotesques.’

Heinze<sup>3</sup> draws from the fulfilment of these two prophecies in vii. and viii. conclusions similar to mine, though he is less concerned with the priority of vii. and viii. than with the late composition of iii. He concludes that at least some two-thirds of the whole poem had been composed when iii. was written. He thinks that Vergil wrote book iii. to fill up the gap between Troy and Carthage, and worked in the prodigies and prophecies with a single eye to the unity and artistic perfection of iii. without regard to the later books already written. This left much to alter in the later half; in vii. the whole account of the landing required reconstruction.

192-285. The general resemblance of the description of Ilioneus’s missions to Latinus in book vii. and to Dido in book i. has been often enough noticed, but the passages will bear examination in detail.<sup>4</sup> I append a parallel table of the most striking resemblances, but one point may be referred to especially.

<sup>1</sup> *Metam.* xi. 119-124.

<sup>2</sup> *Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques*, p. 272, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Virgils Epische Technik*, pp. 85-93.

<sup>4</sup> In the first book Aeneas appears, as well as

the sovereign and the ambassador, so the episode is longer and more elaborate. There are also parallels to the meeting with Euander in book viii.



Compare vii. 249-250

talibus Ilionei dictis *defixa* Latinus  
*obtutu* tenet ora, soloque immobilis *haeret*

with i. 495,

dum stupet *obtutuque haeret defixus* in uno,

said of Aeneas just before the entrance of Dido and Ilioneus. Surely the line in the first book was written after those in vii., since it brings the three salient words of *two* lines together in the middle of a single line. Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have used a similar argument to support a proposed reading in Horace. In *Odes* III. iv. 9, 10, I would read

me *fabulosae* Vulture in Apulo  
*nutricis* extra limina *Dauniae*

(adopting Paldamus's conjecture, read by Ritter, for the corrupt *limen Apuliae*), and would support the emendation from *Odes* I. xxii., where the three salient words are scattered through three stanzas (*fabulosus* l. 7, *Daunias* l. 14, *nutrix* l. 16). The parallelism of thought between the two passages, *Odes* I. xxii. and *Odes* III. iv. 9-36, is very striking. I quote this now because the date of the third book of the *Odes* is usually accepted as being later than that of the first book. In Vergil the dating of the books is the very point at issue, so the argument from analogy is of some value in attempting to argue that the condensed passage is the later.<sup>2</sup>

#### PARALLELS BETWEEN THE TWO EMBASSIES OF ILIONEUS.

*Aeneid* vii. 168-285.

- (1) 192-3. Latinus receives Trojans in a temple, of which a description and history has preceded.
- (2) 194. *atque haec ingressis placido* prior edidit ore (of Latinus).
- (3) 195-6. *neque enim nescimus et urbem* | *et genus*.
- (4) 197-8. Latinus asks questions.
- (5) 205. *Atque equidem memini* (Latinus). [Latinus's first speech seventeen lines, second fifteen lines.]
- (6) 213-248. Ilioneus's speech thirty-six lines (including a half line).
- (7) 234-5. *siue fide, seu quis bello est expertus et armis* [of Aeneas].

*Aeneid* i. 441-655.

- 505-6. Dido . . .
- 520-1. *Postquam introgressi . . . placido* sic pectore coepit (of Ilioneus).
565. *Quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem?*
- 539-540. Ilioneus . . .
619. *Atque equidem* Teucrum *memini* (Dido). [Dido's first speech seventeen lines, second sixteen.] [Compare also viii. 157 *nam memini*. (Euander)].<sup>3</sup>
- 522-558. Ilioneus's speech thirty-seven lines (including a half line).
- 544-5. *quo iustior alter | nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis* [of Aeneas].

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Rev.* xx. 304 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See note above, *Cereale* . . . *Cerevem*, vii. 111, 113.

<sup>3</sup> There are various parallels with the Euander

episode; note especially viii. 171:

*auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuuabo*  
 compared with i. 571:

*auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuuabo.*

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (8) Gifts (especially <i>gestamen</i> 246 [compare iii. 286 (of Aeneas), <i>magni gestamen</i> Abantis]).<br>(9) 249-250. <i>defixa</i> . . .   <i>obutu</i> . . .<br><i>haeret</i> (Latinus).<br>(10) 263-6. Wish for Aeneas.<br>(11) 278. <i>monilia</i> .<br>(12) 278-9. <i>aurea</i> . . . <i>auro</i> . . . <i>aurum</i> . | 647-655. Gifts (especially <i>quod gesserat</i> 653).<br>495. <i>obutuque haeret defixus</i> (Aeneas).<br>575-6. ditto.<br>654. <i>monile</i> (only places in Vergil except <i>Ciris</i> , 170).<br>448-9. <i>aerea</i> . . . <i>aere</i> . . . <i>aenis</i> .<br>(Compare also iv. 138-9, xi. 774 6.) |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

286-322. It is in this passage that perhaps the most instructive parallelism with book i. occurs. A comparison of Juno's soliloquy here with that in the first book will bring out some striking points. One might argue again that the shorter passage is the later—thirteen lines in book i. as opposed to thirty in book vii. The use of elision is very marked in both, as is natural in a passionate speech, but while in book vii. there are twenty-one elisions in thirty lines, a high proportion, in book i. there are fourteen elisions in thirteen lines, i.e. more than one a line. I imagine this would be difficult to parallel; as compared with the passage in book vii. the speech seems raised to the *n<sup>th</sup>* power of condensed fury.

In book vii. *two* divinities, Mars and Diana, are mentioned as having gratified their lust for vengeance by the punishment of whole peoples, in contrast to Juno herself, who cannot get revenge upon Aeneas. In book i. the one goddess Pallas, Juno's partner in the war (Horace, *Odes* III. iii. 22, 23), is used to point the contrast by her success in punishing Ajax. The comparison seems much happier.<sup>1</sup>

Note further that while in each case Juno has recourse to the aid of a subordinate deity, the Aeolus incident seems worked out in a more satisfactory way than the one with the Fury; at least, the way in which Aeolus produces the storm

*cauum conuersa cuspidē montem  
impulit in latus cett.*

has less of magic in it than the tale of the snake hurled at Amata or the firebrand at Turnus. The snake episode is very curious. Vergil seems to have hovered between the idea of a real and of a figurative snake. His account of the infusion of the poison is pure magic:

*ille inter uestes et leuia pectora lapsus  
uoluitur attactu nullo, FALLITQUE furentem  
uipeream INSPIRANS animam. (349-351)*

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth while to note that each passage begins with a reference to Sicily:

vii. 298-9,

et *laetum* Aeneam classemque ex aethere longe  
Dar daniam *Siculo* prospexit ab usque Pachyno.

i. 34, 35,

uix e conspectu *Siculae* telluris in altum  
uela dabant *laeti*.

The chiasitic arrangement (*LAETUM* . . . *SICULO* *prospexit*, *CONSPECTU* *SICULAE* . . . *LAETI*) seems to indicate that the correspondence is not accidental.

Compare this with the highly-finished account of Dido and Cupid in i. 657-722, especially 685-688 :

ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido  
regales inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,  
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,  
occultum *INSPIRES* ignem *FALLASQUE ueneno*.

Grant the existence of Cupid, and the process of infection is quite scientific. Note also *inspires* and *fallas* brought into the same line, as opposed to *fallit* . . . *inspirans* in vii. 350, 351; also the bold construction of *fallas ueneno* in contrast to the simple Graecism *fallit inspirans*.<sup>1</sup>

The magical element in the firebrand passage (vii. 413-459) is less marked, because the Fury appears to Turnus in his sleep (414, 427, 458), and the mixture of sleeping and waking in the story makes it less needful to inquire whether she hurls at him dream torches or real ones—

sic effata facem iuueni coniecit et atro  
lumine fumantes fixit sub pectore taedas,  
olli *somnum* ingens *rumpit* pauor. (456-8)

376-7 tum uero *infelix* ingentibus excita monstris  
immensum sine more *furit* lymphata per urbem.

said of Amata.

Compare iv. 68-69 :

uritur *infelix* Dido totaque uagatur  
urbe *furens*.

Notice again that the passage in book iv. is shorter.<sup>2</sup>

The resemblance has of course often enough been pointed out; it is quoted here in support of the main argument. Note too that in book iv. there follows the lovely simile of the wounded deer; here the grotesque one of the top. Observe especially vii. 382, *uolubile buxum*; iv. 71, *uolatile ferrum*.

The word *lymphata* does not occur elsewhere in Vergil (it occurs in Horace, *Odes* I. xxxvii. 14), but it is found in Catullus, lxiv. 254, in a passage which Vergil imitates in his account of the Bacchic frenzy of Amata, 384-403:

<sup>1</sup> I have noted a number of passages where an author's bold construction seems a case of 'going one better' than himself in a previous passage, or the predecessor he is imitating. E.g. would Horace have written *curis* . . . *expeditis*, *Odes* I. xxii. 11, if it had not been for *solutis* . . . *curis*, Catullus xxxi. 7. 2? Again, perhaps 'mihi *cumque* salue | rite *uocanti*' (*Odes* I. xxxii. 15, 16) can best be explained as a further experimentation of Horace in the use of the participles, led up to by *quippe* . . . *renisens* in the preceding ode

(ll. 13, 14), which is of course modelled on *Are* in Greek with the participle.

<sup>2</sup> Nettleship (*Verg.* p. 131) has already pointed out that Amata in the last six books plays a part somewhat similar to that of Dido in i. and iv., but the idea of Amata as understudy to Dido will bear more emphasis. Vergil's treatment of Amata is distinctly unsympathetic, in great contrast to his portrait of Dido. But compare Mr. Garrod's remarks on the way Dido outgrew the original intention of her creator (*English Literature and the Classics*, pp. 150 sqq.).



per medias urbes agitur populosque feroces.  
 quin etiam in silvas, *simulato* numine Bacchi,  
 maius adorta nefas, maioremque orsa *furorem*,  
 euolat, . . . . .

389 *euhoë*, *Bacche*, fremens, solum te uirgine dignum  
 uociferans: etenim molles tibi sumere *thyrsos*,  
 te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem,

395 Ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent,  
 pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.  
*ipsa* inter *medias* flagrantem feruida pinum  
 sustinet . . . . .

403 'Soluite crinales uittas, capite *orgia* mecum.'

Further on 580, 581:

tum, quorum attonitae Baccho nemora auia matres  
 insultant *thiasis*.<sup>1</sup>

Compare Catullus lxiv. 251 sqq.:

at parte ex alia florens uolitabat Iacchus  
 cum *thiaso* Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis,  
 te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque *incensus* amore,  
 quicum alacres passim *lymphata* mente *furebant*  
*euhoë* *bacchantes*, *euhoë* capita inflectentes.  
 horum pars tecta quatiebant cuspidē *thyrsos*.

pars obscura cauis celebrabant *orgia* cistis,  
*orgia*, quae frustra cupiunt audire profani, *cett*.

I quote this because I would suggest that Vergil in the passage in book vii. had Catullus's lines in mind (I have noted several other reminiscences of poem lxiv. in *Aeneid* vii.; compare Horace's imitations of Catullus xi. in his first Sapphic ode). Then in the more highly finished lines in book iv. he improved on both himself and Catullus, both in iv. 68-69 already quoted, and in another highly condensed passage in which every word tells:

iv. 300-303,

saeuit inops animi totamque *incensa per urbem*  
*bacchatur*, qualis commotis *excita sacris* (cp. vii. 376)

<sup>1</sup> *Thiasus* is not used elsewhere in Vergil,  
 except in *Bucolics* v. 30, 31:

*thiasos* inducere Bacchi  
 et foliis lentas intexere mollibus *hastas*.

Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho  
*orgia*,<sup>1</sup> nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron.

Vergil has used and condensed this material also in vi. 517-519 (again of a wife deceiving her husband, like Amata), where Deiphobus says of Helen on the last night of Troy:

illa chorum *simulans euantes orgia* circum  
 ducebat Phrygias; flammam *media ipsa* tenebat  
 ingentem.

Norden *ad loc.* comments that *euantes* seems to be taken from Catullus. I should prefer to say that in the lines from book vii. Vergil imitated Catullus closely (especially compare vii. 389, *euhoë*, *Bacche*, *fremens*, with Catullus lxiv. 255, *euhoë bacchantes*, *euhoë*, in both cases at the head of the line). *Euhoë* does not occur elsewhere in Vergil, and *euantes* only in the passage just quoted from vi. Note the strained Greek construction of *euantes orgia*, and compare note on *fallas ueneno*, above.

With regard to lines

601-607 Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes  
 Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum  
 Roma colit, cum prima mouent in proelia Martem,  
 604 siue Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum  
 Hyrcanisue Arabisue parant, seu tendere ad Indos,  
 Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa.  
 607 sunt geminae Belli portae, *cett.*

editors have generally agreed that 606 at least was added later, as the standards were not recovered till 20 B.C. (though they were demanded in 23). So it may have been written by Vergil within a year of his death. I should be inclined however to think that 604-6 were all a late insertion by the poet, and that the passage originally read:

mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes  
 Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum  
 Roma colit, cum prima mouent in proelia Martem.  
 sunt geminae Belli portae.

I would point out for what it may be worth that the four lines 602-5 have all of them a third trochaic caesura. I have not noted any other instance in the *Aeneid* of four consecutive lines with third trochaic caesuras (there are three, vii. 805-7); this may perhaps have some bearing on the question of later insertion, as the original passage would have had only two if my suggestion is correct.

[NOTE ON BOOK VIII.—I will not make here any detailed examination of book viii., but will only say, with much diffidence, that it appears to me that

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Georgics* iv. 521, 'nocturnique *orgia* Bacchi.'

viii. was composed continuously with vii., the two forming practically one episode, but that viii. has received much more careful polishing than vii. It may be noted that the picture in viii. 720 sqq. of Augustus seated in the temple of Apollo has perhaps more vividness if we suppose it to have been written soon after 28 B.C., when Augustus built the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. There are many parallels in these two books with Livy I., but they consist mainly in the subject matter. It is worth while to compare Livy and Propertius for the Cacus episode (*Aen.* viii. 185-268). Compare especially Livy I. 7, § 4: *loco herbido ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boues et ipsum fessum uia procubuisse* with Propertius IV. ix. 4,

*et statuit fessos fessus et ipse boues.*

The poetical language used by Livy in this episode has often been noted; should we imagine that all three authors were drawing from a common original in verse?]

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## TERGA FATIGAMVS HASTA.

WHEN we read the Latin Grammarians' Rules of Prosody, we are puzzled now and then. (They are to be found in the Prosody-sections of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, and deal mainly with the Dactylic Hexameter and with Virgil.) One thing that puzzles us is their silence about the features of difference between Latin Prosody and Greek. They often seem to take it for granted that Virgil's Prosody is identical with Homer's. This point of view is perhaps not surprising, since these Grammatici often speak of Latin as a mere dialect of Greek (Charisius 292, 16 K. 'cum ab omni sermone Graeco Latina lingua pendere uideatur'; Diomede 311, 3 'cum ab omni sermone Graeco Latina loquella pendere uideatur'). But it has its disadvantages. Every schoolboy knows that *moeniā Troiae* is as natural in Virgil as *τείχεα Τροίης* would be unnatural in Homer; and every school-manual of Latin Prosody confines its examples of a Mute and Liquid (1) lengthening, (2) not lengthening a preceding syllable to examples of a Mute and Liquid in the middle of a word. If it mentions Catullus' *impotentiā freta*, it calls this a Greek, not a Latin type. Not so the Grammatici. Diomede's examples of a short syllable before FR, FL are (429, 3 K):

ore fremebant  
talia flammato.

And we are puzzled by the arrangement of the rules for Lengthening by Position. The Grammatici, one and all, follow this procedure. They enumerate the letters which (1) contribute, (2) do not contribute to length by Position—in this style, appending nearly always the same pair of examples:

- R, L, N after a Mute, e.g. (1) etc., (2) etc.
- R, L after F, e.g. (1) etc., (2) etc.
- S, e.g. (1) unde spissa coma (by an unknown author).  
          (2) ponite. spes sibi quisque.
- H, e.g. (1) terga fatigamus hasta.  
          (2) hic vir, hic est.

The last item is the most puzzling of all. Why should the letter H be treated separately? There is nothing in Virgil's practice to justify this prominence being given to H. For Virgil and for his contemporaries and predecessors (including the Dramatists, *pace* Prof. Birt) there exists no distinction whatsoever, so far as Prosody is concerned, between an initial syllable which begins with H and one which begins with a vowel. No one, that is to say no one with unprejudiced mind, who reads through the Virgilian poems with a view to compiling rules of Virgilian Prosody would ever dream of selecting *terga fatigamus hasta* as illustrative of a peculiar type of lengthening 'in arsi.' He might with good reason make one type (a) 'lengthening at a pause in the sense,' e.g.

omnia uincit Amor—et nos cedamus Amori,

another type (*b*) 'lengthening at the Caesura of the line' (presumably justified by the genesis of the Hexameter out of two short lines), e.g.

dona dehinc auro grauiā | sectoque elephanto.

But the presence or absence of an initial H does not play any part in the lengthening. There is nothing that would suggest such an idea to the unprejudiced reader. This item of the ancient Rules of Prosody offers a puzzling problem.

And it is a problem worth solving. For we know that one of the features peculiar to the Later Latin verse of the Christian poets, is precisely this novel treatment of initial H. We may take the Prosody-section of Bede, *de Arte Metrica*, as a convenient summary of the Rules of Christian Latin Prosody. Bede says there (230, 27 K.: 'item natura brevis syllaba ad uotum poetarum transferri potest in longam, cum correpta uocalis in consonantem desinit et excipitur ab H littera : est enim natura brevis in hoc :

porcinum tenere gregem, niger, hispidus, horrens ;

est uoluntate poetae longa in hoc :

uir humilis maesto deiectus lumine terram,

et item

mors fera per hominem miserum sibi subdidit orbem.'

Bede, who often contrasts favourably with the Grammarians of the Empire and refuses to join in some of their parrot-cries, adds a criticism of their example *terga fatigamus hasta*, pointing out that the presence or absence of H makes no difference to Virgil. But although his remark is just, there seems no reason to doubt that it was this Rule of Prosody in these Grammarians, supported by this example from Virgil, which caused the new departure in Christian Latin poetry. What other cause could there be? The pronunciation of H had not become more marked, more consonantal in course of time. On the contrary it had begun that process of weakening which ended in its being dropped altogether in pronunciation (e.g. French *homme*, Spanish *hombre*), if not also in writing (e.g. Italian *uomo*). Prof. Meyer-Lübke, the chief authority on the Romance languages, tells us that there is not any vestige in them of Latin H, however far back we go. 'Das H ist im Volksmunde schon gegen Ende der Republik völlig geschwunden.' What produced the change in Later Latin versification (an artificial thing, learned from Rules of Prosody as we learn to write Latin Verse) was this particular rule and nothing else, this rule which every student learned at school or college. What then was the cause of the rule?

I think I can supply the answer. The first compilation of rules for Latin Prosody was, I take it, made by a Greek, some 'Graeculus esuriens.' He did it in the way which gave him least trouble. He took some standard Greek manual of Rules of Prosody (based on Homer's poems) and merely translated them into Latin, substituting Latin examples from Virgil in place of the Greek

examples from Homer. Anyone who read through the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in order to frame Rules of Homeric Prosody would have to assign a separate paragraph to Homer's lengthening of a final syllable before what would then be called merely an initial Aspirate, but which we now with better knowledge would describe as an Aspirate which represents an original Digamma. This rule having been translated into Latin, the 'Graeculus esuriens' would hunt for an example in Virgil which could replace the Greek example (let us suppose Homer's ἀρνύμενος ἦν, where the Aspirate represents σF, as in Latin *suus*). When he ultimately found *terga fatigamus hasta*, down it would go, without further inquiry, into his translation; and he would turn, with a sigh of relief, to the next Greek rule. That is an imaginary description. Yes, but it tallies exactly with the actual features of these Latin Rules of Prosody. It explains, for instance, why the 'Mute and Liquid' examples are often more suitable to Greek Prosody than to Latin.

And it explains a supposed lacuna in Charisius (I4, 9 K.). Charisius' list of letters which (1) contribute, (2) do not contribute to length by Position includes not merely the usual Liquid, S, H, etc., but also one excluded by the other Grammatici :

V, e.g. (1) inualidique patrum referunt ieiunia nati, (2) *deest*.

Keil indicates a lacuna. But a reference to Priscian's more extended treatment of the question shews us that Charisius, who confines himself to the Dactylic Hexameter, deliberately withheld the example of V not contributing to length by Position, because it came from Terence. Charisius we may believe to have drawn from the same original as is more fully transcribed by Priscian. Priscian (p. 16, K.), in an extremely interesting account of the Aeolic Digamma, says: 'est quando in metris pro nihilo accipiebant, ut :

ἀμὲς δ' Φειρήναν† το δε γαρ θετο Μῶσα λίγεια

(where it does not prevent elision of the vowel of δέ); est enim hexametrum heroicum. Apud Latinos quoque hoc idem inuenitur pro nihilo in metris, et maxime apud uetustissimos comicorum, ut Terentius in *Andria* :

Sine inuidia laudem inuenias et amicos pares ;

est enim iambicum trimetrum.'

Here too the rule has the same genesis. It is a rule originally of Greek (Aeolic) Prosody. For Latin students of Prosody the same rule is utilized, and an example of it is found, by hook or by crook, in Latin poetry.

I think we may fairly accept this version of the facts, and believe that the actual cause of the new feature of Christian Latin poetry, a scansion like 'per hominem,' was immediately the manual of Latin Prosody used by students—'argilla quiduis imitaberis uda'—and ultimately the careless blunder of a Greek pedant.

W. M. LINDSAY.



## NOTES ON LUCAN I. AND VIII.

I. 167-170:

tunc longos iungere fines  
agrorum et quondam duro sulcata Camilli  
uomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones  
longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

THIS well-known passage refers to the growth of *latifundia*, a symptom of Rome's decadence. In v. 170 *ignotis* is generally taken to mean 'unknown to the owners,' and thus, it seems to me, the point of the passage is missed. There is a double antithesis; *longa* is contrasted with *breuia*, *parua*, and *ignotis* with *notis*, *inlustribus*, or the like. The latter antithesis is implied in *Camilli*, *Curiorum*; the other is left to be understood. In the good old days farms were small, but were cultivated by the most eminent citizens, men like Camillus and Curius Dentatus; now these small farms are combined to form *latifundia*, managed by nobodies (*ignotis*), whether slaves or tenant farmers. The juxtaposition of *longa* and *sub ignotis* is intentional.

No one who knows Lucan will be troubled by the repetition *longos—longa* (See C.Q. VIII., p. 111).

I. 291-295—The effect of Curio's speech on Caesar:

sic postquam fatus, et ipsi  
in bellum prono tantum tamen addidit irae  
accenditque ducem, quantum clamore iuuatur  
Eleus sonipes, quamuis iam carcere clauso  
immineat foribus pronusque repagula laxet.

The last two lines of this passage have caused some trouble, though the general sense is quite clear. The eager racehorse is pictured as stretching his head over the top of the barrier and impatiently striving to burst open the door. Hosius in his first edition printed his own conjecture *pedibus* for *pronus*, and he has been followed by Lejay. The emendation was suggested by Ov. Met. II. 155 *pedibusque repagula pulsant*, and the 'correctors' of some of our MSS. actually give us *pulset* for *laxet* in the above passage of Lucan. But Lucan must be allowed some originality even in his imitations, and in any case it is not easy to see why a scribe should have changed *pedibus* to *pronus*. As Hosius still thinks his conjecture worthy of mention in the *apparatus*, it appears that the meaning of *pronus* is not quite clearly understood. It may be well,

therefore, to cite Stat. *Th.* X. 509 sqq.: tandem umeris obnixus Acron et pectore toto | pronus Achaemenides ferratae robora portae | torserunt. Here, as in Lucan, *pronus* means 'throwing his weight forward,' 'pushing hard.' Lucan has such a habit of repeating words at short intervals that the occurrence of *prono* in v. 292 is actually a confirmation of the reading *pronus* in v. 295.

Francken finds it impossible to accept the traditional reading *iam carcere clauso*, owing to the difficulty of taking *iam* with *immineat* when it would naturally go with *clauso*. This objection comes unexpectedly from the editor of a poet, especially of a poet such as Lucan. In III. 184 sq. we find *iam dilecta Ioui centenis uenit in arma | Creta uetus populis*, where *iam* goes with *uenit*, not with *dilecta*; yet Francken finds no fault with the reading. *Semper* is similarly used in III. 21: semperque potentis | detrahare in cladem fato damnata maritos | innupsit . . .; here *semper* goes, not with *potentis*, but with the main verb. To pass from temporal adverbs, we find a still more awkward use of *paene* in V. 242, cum *paene fideles* . . . manus destituere ducem; cf. Hor. C. III. 6. 13. We may compare also the use of *frustra*, IX. 952. Lucan seems to take a malicious delight in placing *non* ambiguously before an adjective when it really modifies the verb or the whole sentence, e.g. I. 339, 455, V. 541, VI. 107, 120, 166, VII. 44. He also has *iam* in stranger positions than it occupies in the instances cited above, e.g. IV. 652, *Alcides medio tenuit iam pectora pigro | stricta gelu*, where *iam* modifies *stricta*. Nor is Lucan alone in his treatment of this word.

I. 303 sqq.—Caesar tells his soldiers of the preparations which are being made to resist him:

non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu  
concutitur quam si Poenus transcenderit Alpes  
Hannibal: implentur ualidae tirone cohortes;  
in classem cadit omne nemus; terraque marique  
iussus Caesar agi.

The reading *ualidae* is much better supported than *ualido*. Lejay, who, like Francken, rightly refuses to take *implentur* in the sense of *augentur*, explains *ualidae* with good reason as an instance of Prolepsis, but he does not tell us why Pompey's *tirones* are said by Caesar to make strong cohorts. Francken (who, however, reads *ualido*) talks of the *robusta rustica iuuentus*, and thinks that Caesar is wilfully exaggerating the gravity of the preparations which are being made by his enemies. But that is precisely what Caesar does not wish to do, and does not do: see vv. 311 sqq.: ueniat longa dux pace solutus | milite cum subito partesque in bella togatae, etc. The preparations are represented as being brisk and noisy, but not formidable. Surely *ualidae tirone* is a contradiction in terms, used with grim irony. Pompey, says Caesar, is busily raising fresh forces—fine, strong battalions—of raw recruits! For other instances of the ironical use of adjectives in Lucan, see V. 227, *en improba uota!* IX. 1108, *O bona libertas!*

## I. 540-544:

ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo,  
 condidit ardentes atra caligine currus  
 inuoluitque diem ; qualem fugiente per ortus  
 sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae.

The mythological allusion in vv. 543 sq. does not require explanation, but the precise meaning of the lines has been the subject of dispute. Francken objects to *duxere*, and reads *induxere* (sc. *sibi*). 'Non agitur,' he says, 'de longa h.l. sed de alta caligine.' But it is surely quite natural to compare the darkness at Rome, when the gloom of night 'enshrouded the day,' with the prolonged night inflicted on Mycenae. In each case night usurped the place of day. *Qualem . . . noctem duxere Mycenae* means 'twas like the prolonged night which Mycenae suffered,' not 'twas like the night Mycenae prolonged.' *Ducere* often means, not 'to protract,' or 'to prolong,' but 'to experience a prolongation of,' or 'to endure for a long time.' Such must be the meaning here, for if we take *duxere Mycenae* in the sense of 'Mycenae prolonged' (by its crime), we shall have to adopt an unnatural view of *fugiente per ortus sole*; the crime of Atreus' feast surely occurred before the punishment, not simultaneously with it! The same objection applies with perhaps even greater force to Francken's *induxere*, which will be intelligible only if we take *fugiente . . . sole* as an attribute of *noctem*, a construction which cannot be called impossible, but which is less simple and natural than the other. Thus there is no need to alter the traditional text.

## I. 688-690:

nunc desuper Alpis  
 nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen  
 abripimur.

These words are uttered by the Roman matron who in a state of inspired frenzy seems to be carried through the air to the various parts of the world where the chief events of the Civil War are destined to happen. First she is snatched away in spirit *super aethera*, and as she feels herself being lowered to earth she exclaims (678 sq.):

quo feror, O Paeon ? qua me super aethera raptam  
 constituis terra ?

She is wafted to the region of Pharsalia, to Egypt, and then to Libya; from Libya she is borne away to the Alps and to the Pyrenees, where she beholds fresh horrors.

The use of *desuper* in v. 688 is very puzzling. The prevalent view seems to be that the word is used as a preposition with the sense and construction of *super*. This use would be absolutely unique, and probability and reason are entirely against it. On the other hand, if we take *desuper* as an adverb and *colles* as Acc. of Motion To (like *Syrtim* and *Libyen* in the preceding sentence),



we are faced with the question why the woman is said to go *down* from Africa to the Alps and the Pyrenees. Emendation has, of course, been attempted, but the results have not been encouraging. Lemaire supposes that as the matron is carried from place to place *super aethera* (v. 678, already quoted) she would of course land on the Alps from above (*desuper*). This is true enough, but it is not what Lucan makes the woman say. If the verb modified by *desuper* were *aduenimus*, such an explanation would hold good, but the verb unfortunately is *abripimur*, 'I am being snatched away' (from Africa). It would seem, then, that Lucan conceived the Alps and the Pyrenees as lying lower than Africa.

The explanation of *desuper* is, I think, to be sought in the crude language of popular physical geography which Lucan is not ashamed to reproduce in IX. 351, where he says that Libya is of all lands the nearest to the sky :

nam proxima caelo est,  
ut calor ipse docet.

With this conception in one's mind, one might well imagine the journey from Africa to any other part of the world, even to the towering Alps, as a journey downwards. Lucan was no doubt glad to use the idea, for it gave him an opportunity to introduce a paradox ('down to the Alps and the Pyrenees'), one of those cheap devices which delighted the rhetorically trained Roman.

I regret that I recently took Hosius to task for not branding the traditional reading of v. 688 as impossible (*Class. Rev.* XXVIII. p. 236). Needless to say, the explanation given above had not then occurred to me.

VIII. 192 sqq. :

sic fatur : at ille  
iusto uela modo pendentia cornibus aequis  
torsit, et in laeum puppim dedit, utque secaret  
quas Asinae cautes et quas Chios asperat undas,  
hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppe rudentis.

Pompey has sailed from Mytilene, taking Cornelia with him. When evening comes on the sight of the stars suggests some questions on navigation. The skipper replies to these, and then asks Pompey in what direction he is to go. Pompey answers that he does not care, provided that the ship avoids Italy and those fatal shores of Thessaly from which he has just fled (189-190).

The boat had obviously rounded the south-east corner of Lesbos, and was therefore in the strait between that island and Chios when Pompey was asked for instructions. The skipper then turned to the left (194), i.e. to the south. The course decided upon may well have lain between the Oenussae islets and the west coast of Chios, as Dr. Postgate believes (*C.Q.* I., p. 77). But the readings of the MSS., *Asinae*, *Sasinae*, are impossible, and the familiar conjectures *Asiae* and *Samiae* are little better. Dr. Postgate therefore suggests that 'until something better be proposed' we should delete *quas* at the beginning of v. 195 and read :

Oenusae cautes, et quas Chios asperat undas.

This conjecture is somewhat bold, as the author admits, but it at least gives us something which is intelligible. It seems not unlikely, however, that the meaningless *Lasinae*, mentioned as a variant at the end of Stephanus' edition (1545) may point the way to a solution of the difficulty. If we read *Lasiae* we obtain excellent sense. *Lasia* was another name for Lesbos, according to Pliny, *H.N.* V. 139. 'The waters ruffled by the rocks of Lasia and of Chios' will then be the channel between Lesbos and Chios. The skipper turns to the south and cuts across (*secat*) these waters.

The reading *Lasinae*, as far as I am aware, rests solely on the authority of Stephanus, but it is not likely to have been invented, and it (or, better still, *Lasiae*) may yet be found in some of the numerous extant MSS. of Lucan.

VIII. 637-639—Cornelia, seeing the murder of Pompey, cries out in agony.

At non tam patiens Cornelia cernere saeuum  
quam perferre nefas miserandis aethera complet  
uocibus.

This sentence has troubled the commentators sorely. 'But Cornelia, not having so much strength to behold the cruel outrage as to endure it, filled the air with pitiable cries'—such is the usual rendering of the passage. Obviously this will never do, and we need not wonder that emendation has been attempted. It certainly looks at first sight as if *perferre* were wrong. Heinsius most ingeniously conjectured *uir ferre*, which gives good sense at the expense of smoothness and palaeographical probability. Haskins would understand *patiens fuisset* with *perferre*, and one might be thankful to acquiesce in this if no other explanation of the traditional text were possible. But with two inveterate misconceptions removed the meaning of the sentence will become quite clear.

In the first place, *saeuum nefas* means 'cruel wrong,' not 'the cruel wrong'; it is quite general in meaning, and covers many tragedies besides the murder of Pompey. In the second place, *non tam patiens* = *quae non tam patiens erat* (or *esse solebat*): it denotes not a temporary but a habitual state. Cornelia is the Griselda of the poem. Her life, from the battle of Carrhae onwards, was full of tragedy and sorrow, but as depicted by Lucan she thinks of her troubles in the most unselfish manner, scarcely considering her own sad plight, but always considering how each blow affects Pompey, or later, Pompey's memory. This is the Cornelia whom the poet describes as 'ever stronger to endure cruel wrong than to witness it.'

The use of the Present Participle as an attribute expressing a constant characteristic is occasionally found in the classical period (e.g. Cat. LXII. 8, Hor. C. II. 14. 15: *ib.* 16. 23), but did not become common till post-Augustan times. Lucan, like Seneca, has many examples; to those cited by Mr. Heitland (Haskins' ed. p. cvi) add I. 104, 358, 529; IV. 189; V. 6, 619. If Lucan had written *numquam tam patiens* his commentators would probably have understood him better: cf. II. 650:

at numquam patiens pacis longaeque quietis  
 armorum, ne quid fatis mutare liceret,  
 adsequitur, generique premit uestigia Caesar.

## VIII. 767-770 :

Fortuna recursus

si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescent  
 tam sacri cineres: sed te Cornelia, Magne,  
 accipiet nostraque manu transfundet in urnam.

These words are spoken by Cordus, the soldier who gave Pompey's body a hasty burial on the Egyptian shore. He hopes, if he should be so fortunate as to return safe to Italy, to convey the ashes to Cornelia. The difficulty involved in *nostra manu* has been well explained by Dr. Postgate (*C.Q.* I., p. 221), and has been noticed by many others, giving rise to various conjectures, such as *propriaque*, *castaque*, *maestamque*, for *nostraque*. Dr. Postgate ingeniously suggests *nostroque sinu*. We should certainly have expected *sua*, not *nostra manu*, for *nostraque manu transfundet in urnam* cannot mean 'and shall pour them into the urn, taking them from my hand.' If we retain the traditional reading we must follow Francken in explaining *nostra manu* as equivalent to *nostra ope*, but this is unnatural; the context justifies us in believing that *manu* here means 'hand.' Discussions of the passage seem to have given too little attention to the fact that *manu* in v. 770 is contrasted with *manu* in v. 767. Almost the saddest feature of Pompey's end, from the ancient point of view, was the fact that no relative was near to light the pyre and to gather the ashes and give them due burial (cf. IX. 56-68, which deserves to be studied in connexion with the passage under discussion). The soldier realizes this. Apostrophizing Pompey's shade he pleads that his service may be accepted, urging that the hand that lights the pyre is at least a Roman hand, *Romana succensa manu est*, i.e. if it is not the hand of a near relative, it is at any rate not the hand of a foreigner (*manus Aegyptia*, IX. 63). But he does not rest content with this. His hand, though *Romana manus*, is the hand of a humble stranger. The last sad office should be performed by the hand of one whom Pompey knew and loved, and Cordus promises that it shall be so, if only he be spared to return to Italy with the hero's ashes. The kind of epithet required for *manu* in v. 770 ought now to be fairly obvious. Surely Lucan wrote:

sed te Cornelia, Magne,  
 accipiet, *notaque* manu transfundet in urnam.

It is scarcely necessary to cite examples of the confusion of *nota*, etc., with *nostra*, etc., but one may refer to Markland's interesting note on Stat. S. II. 2. 142.

W. B. ANDERSON.



## NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE TEXT OF FESTVS.

THE Teubner edition of *Festus de Verborum Significatu* had scarcely appeared when Professor Anspach announced (in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of November 29, 1913) his discovery of a MS. of Isidore's *Etymologies* (A 18 of the Vallicelli Library, Rome) with some Scholia taken from Festus. Last Easter, in the limited time at my disposal, I transcribed from the MS. the greater part of this Isidore Commentary and, later, received a transcript of the remainder from Abbé Liebaert some weeks before his death. Although hampered by the deficiencies of our University Library, I am unwilling to keep this new evidence any longer from students of Festus.

The whole Commentary might well be published (under the title 'Anecdoton Anspachii') as, at the very least, an interesting specimen of mediaeval editing, but would occupy too much space. It is here reduced to workable size by the omission of most of the Scholia taken from the Christian Fathers and many of those from Pliny *Naturalis Historia*. Pliny's encyclopaedic work has been much used by the commentator. Some Scholia indeed which, at first sight, would be referred to Pliny are in reality taken directly from Pliny's imitator, Solinus. Still a certain number are explicitly ascribed to Pliny himself (e.g. *Refert Plinius Secundus* fol. 78<sup>r</sup>, fol. 79<sup>v</sup>; *Plinius Secundus refert* fol. 84<sup>v</sup>), just as a certain number are explicitly ascribed to Christian writers (e.g. *In expositione beati Ieroni<mi> super epistolam ad Galatas* fol. 31<sup>v</sup>; *ut ait Ambrosius* fol. 48<sup>v</sup>; *Secundum Gregorium* fol. 107<sup>r</sup>); others have patently been copied, word for word, from the *Naturalis Historia*. My notes shew that I deliberately refrained from transcribing, apart from Christian Scholia, the following: (1) on foll. 27<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>, Medical Scholia, (2) on fol. 68<sup>r</sup>, one about the Emperor Theodosius, (3) on foll. 71<sup>v</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>, 80<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>, Natural History Scholia, (4) on foll. 81<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>v</sup>, 83<sup>v</sup>, Physics Scholia, (5) on foll. 84<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>v</sup>, 93<sup>r</sup>, 94<sup>v</sup>, Geography Scholia, (6) on foll. 100<sup>v</sup>, 102<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>r</sup>, Mineralogy Scholia, (7) on foll. 112<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>v</sup> Botany Scholia, (8) on fol. 116<sup>r</sup>, instances of fortitude, etc. They seemed all (except the second) to come from Pliny (or Solinus), or at any rate to have nothing to do with Festus. But now that the importance of these Scholia (for other authors as well as Festus) has revealed itself, it is clearly necessary to examine carefully every one of them. Perhaps some resident at Rome, when the Vallicelliana is again accessible, will kindly supplement the account which follows here:

- ad Isid. *Etym.* 1, 28, 1] Analogia, id est assimilatio sermonum uel rationum.
- 3, 21, 5] Pythaulles dicti sunt a Pythone qui primum tibiis aeneis cecinit. Idem et spondaules dictus est.
- 3, 28] Gauerosus (*leg.* Berosus) quidam in tantum in astrologia claruit, ut ei ob diuinas praedictiones Athenienses publice in gymnasio statuam inaurata lingua statuerent (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 7, 123).
- 3, 54, 1] Lunae rationem primus Endymion deprehendit, ideoque fabulose dictus est Lunam amasse (? cf. Plin. *N.H.* 2, 43; ?? cf. Fulgent. *Myth.* 58, 5 H). Luna humorem cum calore permixtum . . . corrumpuntur putredine (= Basil. *Hexaem.* 933 C-D of Migne's edition. At the side: BASILIUS).
- 3, 71, 26] Anaximander Milesius primus signa XII . . . sequitur Septemtriones (= Plin. *N.H.* 2, 110).
- 5, 24, 14] Codicillus intelligitur hoc quod minus est in testamento suppletio.
- 5, 29, 1] Momentum a motu siderum celerrimo nuncupatur. Plurimi scriptores indifferenter breuissimum illud temporis spatium quo palpebra oculi nostri moueri potest, quod in ictu pungentis transcurrit, quod secari et diuidi nequit, nunc momentum, nunc punctum, nunc atomum (athomam *cod.*) uocant (= Bede *Temp. Rat.* iii). 5, 30, 5] Dies nomen inde sumens quod tenebras a luce disiungat ac diuidat (*ibid.* v in.).
- 5, 33, 3] Priusquam Caesar Augustus XII menses statueret, nonnumquam accidebat ut menses qui fuerant transacti hieme modo aestiuum (-vo *cod.*), modo autumnale tempus inciderent. Itaque uniuersam hanc inconstantiam Caesar incisa temporum turbatione conposuit (= Solin. 1, 44-45). Commodus imperator Ianuarium mensem Amazoneum, Septembrium Commodum censuit appellari.
- 5, 33, 11] Domitianus Septembrem Germanicum, Octobrem suo nomine censuit appellari.
- 5, 36, 4] Temporibus Augusti Caesaris cursus annui perspecta ratio est quae antea profunda caligine tegebatur. Nam apud Romanos decem mensibus computabatur, apud Arcadas tribus, apud <A>carnanas sex, apud Lauinios tredecim. Galli[s] sexta luna principia mensuum annorumque faciebant (cf. Solin. 1, 34-35).
- 5, 37, 2] Quinquennium fuisse quo senator nullus (-li *cod.*) . . . condidere (= Plin. *N.H.* 7, 157).
- 5, 38, 3] Apud Gallos saeculum XXX annis habebatur.
- 6, 8, 9] Stromatum qui dicuntur libri in Latinum dici possunt opere uario contexti. Hypotyposeon libri sunt quos nos possumus dicere informationum uel dispositionum (?? cf. Jerome *de Viris Illust.* 38). Hypomnesticon commonitorium.
- 6, 17, 27] Bissexturn Caesar Augustus instituit annumque CCCLXV dies et quadrantem habere statuit (? cf. Bede *Temp. Rat.* xii, ad fin.).
- 7, 11, 4] Apollonia uirgo apud Alexandriam iam grandaeva aetate elapsa impiorum manibus in ignem praeparatum sponte prosiluit.

- 7, 12, 18] Sacerdotes feminae quae in templo Berecinthiae erant Melissae dicebantur, a Melissa quadam quae prima sacerdos fuerat sic appellatur (*sic*) (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 22, 20).

Flamines, id est sacerdotes paganorum, calce<i>s de morticinis  
pellibus non utebantur.

- 8, 7, 6] Hos Hyginus (eginus *cod.*) primum frustra[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum uocant; siue quod faece uultus suos linirent, quia personae usus nondum erat inuentus, tryga autem Graece faex dicitur; siue a uino quod praemii nomine accipiebant. Nam tryx uinum dicitur, unde et trygeton Graece uindemia dicitur.

ibid. Sed comici] Hi et comastes sunt dicti quia circum uicos dicta dicebant, faece oblita facie ne erubescerent; unde ligadae sunt appellati.

- 8, 7, 8] Coraules operti palliis uoce caneant, unde et appellati sunt (? cf. Hyginus *Fab.* 273, p. 147, 9 S.).

- 8, 9, 8] <Marcello> Circa mortem cum periit ab Hannibale sacrificante in extis iecur defuit, exitium ei portendens. Item Gaio principi, cum iniret . . . est ueneno. Caesari . . . sacrificantibus in extis cor defuit. Diuo Augusto . . . annum imperium (= Plin. *N.H.* 11, 189 et 186).

- 8, 11, 26] M<y>iagram pagani dicunt muscarum deum (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 10, 75; Solin. 1, 11).

- 8, 11, 34] Scholia from Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 33; 1, 22, 19; 1, 20, 37. ibid. 30] d°. 1, 22, 9-11. ibid. 45] d°. 1, 6, 2 sqq.

- 8, 11, 30] Herculem credebant deum uirtutis. Dicitur autem Hercules Graece Heracles quasi eron cleos, quod Latine uirorum (utr- *cod.*) fortium famam dicimus. Fuit autem, ut scribit Festus Pompeius (-ponius *cod.*) agricola ideoque Augei gregis stabulum stercoribus purgasse refertur, quia proprie agricolarum est stercorare agros. Quod mala ab Hesperidibus petisse fertur, pecorum per hoc cura signatur, quae Graece mila dicuntur. Item armenti, cum Geryonis boues abegisse narratur. Per aprum autem quod supinum portasse fingitur, sues feros mansuetos fecisse monstratur. Per canem tricipitem uenandi studium gessisse intenditur.

- 8, 11, 61] Angerana (*sic*) dea silentii obsignatum os habens Romae colebatur (cf. Solin. 1, 6). Curetes, Iouis filii, a curandis corporibus dicti. Fornacem deam pagani colebant, cuius festa Furnacalia (*sic*) dicebant. Cunina quae infantes tuetur in cunis ac fascinum (hac farc- *cod.*) summouet (= Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 36) dea dicta est. Veneri Caluae (Venericule *cod.*) simulacrum colebant[ur] pro eo quod Gallis urbem occupantibus ex mulierum capillis tormenta et pugnatrix facta sint (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 27). Venerem armatam ob hanc causam colebant Lacedaemones. Cum contra hostes suos exissent, his armatae mulieres auxilium ferentes obuiam ierunt, sed cum uiros suos cernerent parare se ad pugnam, corpora sua nudauerunt; at illi uxoribus cognitis sicut erant armatae (*sic*) permixti sunt: ob hoc



Veneri arma apposuerunt (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 30-32). Pauorem et Pallorem ut deum Tullus Hostilius coluit; Mentem quoque ut deam senatus coli instituit (cf. *ibid.* 11 et 13). Le<ae>na apud Athenienses quaedam meretrix tyrannum occidit, et quia turpe fuit simulacrum construere meretrici, templo animalis . . . gerebat (*ibid.* 2-3). Faula apud Romanos quaedam meretrix, pro eo quod Herculi[s] occubuit, dea dicta est (cf. *ibid.* 5). Bellona dea belli; haec et Hymirinis (? *leg.* etiam Erinys) dicitur. Febris quoque fanum Romae in Palatio publice fuit dicatum et Malae Fortunae in Esquilio monte (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 2, 16).

8, 11, 68] Flora meretrix magnas opes ex meretricia arte conquisiuit ac populum scripsit heredem. Hinc Romani festum ei celebrant quem Floralia uocant. Eandem finxerunt deam florum esse, quia turpe ducebant meretricem coli. Ipsa est et Chlores (*sic*), Zephyri uxor, quia Zephyrus uentus flores creat (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 6 sqq.). Leda, quia cum ea Iuppiter concubuit, ex qua Castor et Pollux et Helena nati sunt, dea est habita: ipsa est Nemesis. Mutam deam colebant et hanc esse dicebant ex . . . Larundam (= *ibid.* 35). Caca (Ce-*codd.*) dea colebatur quia Herculi indicium fecit de furto boum, quos Cacus frater eius furauerat. Sterculus deus dictus est quia agros stercoreare docuit (cf. *ibid.* 36). Esus et Teutanes Gallorum dii (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 21, 3). Tutinus dicebatur apud stultos deus in cuius . . . delibasse putaretur (= *id.* 1, 20, 36). O qualis dementia!

8, 11, 97] Pietatis sacellum apud Romanos fuerat ob hoc ita appellatum. Dum enim pater cuiusdam puerperae in carcere clausus esset et ei alimonia negarentur, filia ad eum dum introiret et exquireretur a custodibus ne forte cibum parenti ministraret, alere eum uberibus deprehensa est; mox morti destinatus pietati[s] filiae donatus est et locus sacer effectus (cf. Solin. 1, 124-125).

8, 11, 84] Osiris, Isidis filius, Aegyptiorum daemona deus. Hunc Serapidem dicunt (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 21, 22). DE SACRIFICIIS DAEMONVM. Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant. Apud Cyprios humanam hostiam Ioui immolabant. In festiuitate Iouis Capitolini uirgines cursu certabant. Apud Tauros hospites Dianae immolabant, etc. This long Scholium is patently a summary of Lact. *Inst.* 1, cap. 21 and 22, 15. It ends: Idcirco in sacris Faunae, uxoris Fauni, obuolutam uini amphoram ponunt quia ipsa cum (? *leg.* clam) olla biberat, propter quam causam a uiro suo extincta est; et quia in uita sua tantum a uiro suo uisa est, ideo et mulieres in operto (ap-*cod.*) sacrificant (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 22, 9 sqq.).

8, 11, 102] Lamia dea siluae dicitur, habens pedes similes equi, manus uero et totum corpus pulchrum simile mulieris; et uiderunt multi et manserunt aliqui cum eis. (On *maneo* see *Arch. Lat. Lexik.* 3, 540.)

9, 1, 1] Rex Ponti Mithridates . . . dixit (= Solin. 1, 109).

9, 2, 95] Lecha fluuius est qui apud Germaniam per barbarorum fines currit, ex alia ripa Alamannos habens, a quo et Lechmanni, id est Lechae

homines, dicti sunt; nam apud eos man homo dicitur. Langi quippe eorum lingua longa, bardu barba dicitur.

- 9, 3, 29] Tribuni plebis uocati quia eos sibi, dum a senatu et populo premeretur, ob defensionem sui plebs creauit.
- 9, 3, 49] Subsidiū dicebatur cum post proeliantes subsidebant ut cedenti acie ei auxilio essent; quod genus militum erat triariorum, qui iam emeruerant iusta stipendia et tamen retinebantur in castris. Et dicti triarii quod in tertio ordine militarent; ante hos qui in secundo loco erant praesidiarii uocabantur (cf. Fest. 398).
- 9, 3, 60] Classon (κλάσον) Graece diuide dicitur.
- 9, 4, 9] Senatores primum Romulus centum elegit ad consilium tribuendum, quos et a senectute senatores uocauit.
- 9, 4, 43] Siquis tempore famis aliquem nutriendo saluasset, eum famulum habebat. Hinc et famulus dictus, ut quibusdam placet.
- 9, 4, 48] Hos Romani alio nomine Orcinos dicunt, ideo forsitan quia acceperint libertatem, sicut et uas quod aquas accipit orca dicitur; sicut et qui apud gentiles putatur mortuos accipere, Orcus.
- 9, 5, 10] Regi Antiocho ita quidam Artemon simulauit ut, defuncto Antiocho, Laudice uxor eius Artemoni diadema imponeret tamdiu quousque ex arbitratu eius regni successor ordinaretur. Pompeius et Vibius Romae alter pro altero uocabatur. Gemini frequenter similes generantur; quales etiam nostris diebus duo fuerunt Ceneta orti, e quibus alter Graso, alter Alo dictus est, adeo similes ut inter eos discernere difficile fuerit. Solent etiam et hi qui consanguinei non sunt similes esse. Nam apud Romanos Messala et Monogenes in tantum similes extiterunt ut non alium Messalam putarent quam Monogenem, nec Monogenem quam Messalam. Quaedam ancilla de duplici adulterio duos procreauit, utrumque patri similem. Similauit de Armentario mirmillo ('a gladiator of A.'?) et Cassio (? leg. -um), et Plancus et Rubrium histrionem (cf. Solin. 1, 80 sqq.; but the story of the Ceneda twins is added by the compiler).
- 9, 7, 27] Fantela uxor Fauni, ut Varro scribit, tantae pudicitiae fuit ut nullus eam, usque ad uixit, praeter suum uirum uiderit (cf. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 22, 10).
- 11, 1, 12] Cyrus tantae memoriae fuit ut omnes de suis nominibus propriis appellauerit. Fecit hoc idem in populo Romano Lucius Scipio. Cineas Pyrrhi . . . salutauit (= Solin. 1, 108-109).
- 11, 1, 14] Corpus compositum est ex corrupto et integro: cor a corde, pus integrum est, quod intelligitur custodia; sicut alibi 'in pure positus solus hic euasit.' Et intelligitur corpus cordis custodia (cf. Virg. Gram. p. 85, 20 H.; the *Abbreuiatio* of Priscian by Bp. Ursus of Benevento, ed. Morelli, p. 11 = p. 291).
- 11, 1, 21] Strabo nomine quidam de Libitinario (*sic*) litore in portu Siciliensi per centum triginta quinque milia naues aspexit; et ut fidem uerborum faceret, etiam numerum eorum dixit (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 7, 85; Solin. 1, 99).

- 11, 1, 52] Quibus gemini procedunt a dextera parte dentes fortunae blandimenta permittunt (*sic*), quibus a laeva detrimenta (= Solin. 1, 71). Dentes tantum inuicti sunt ignibus ne crementur cum reliquo corpore (= Plin. *N.H.* 7, 70).
- 11, 1, 83] Varro asserit Tritanum gladiatorem rectis et transuersis neruis fuisse non tantum crate . . . tactu superasse. Eius filium . . . reportasset (= Solin. 1, 75-76).
- 11, 2, 4] Infans a die quadragesimo ridere inchoat. Unum nouimus eadem hora risisse, Zoroastre<m> (cf. Solin. 1, 72).
- 11, 2, 18] Mulieres antiqui uiras appellabant, unde adhuc permanent uirgines et uiragines (= Fest. 314, 15; cf. *Etym.* 11, 2, 22-23).
- 11, 2, 36] Defuncta uirorum corpora supina fluitant, feminarum prona. Sic pudoris disciplinam etiam inter defuncta corpora natura decreuit (*sic*) (cf. Solin. 1, 95).
- 11, 3, 26] Pygmaei ipsi sunt nani quos uulgus septem caulinos uocat eo quod sub uno caule requiescere possint.
- 12, 1, 50] Gilbum nos blancum uocamus.
- 12, 1, 60] Asturcones dicuntur quos nos celdos (*sic*) uocamus (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 166).
- 12, 4, 24] Celidri plurimi in Calabria sunt (? cf. Solin. 2, 33).
- 12, 5, 3] Sanguisuga et hyrundo alio nomine dicitur (? cf. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 29; 32, 123); ut est illud (Ser. Samm. 784): sunt quibus apposita siccatur hyrundine sanguis.
- 12, 7, 38] Ulula nos oloccum uocamus (cf. Serv. auct. *Ecl.* 8, 55).
- 12, 7, 51] Anatis caro suauior est pectore et ceruice. Unde et poeta (Mart. 13, 52): Tota tibi (*sic*) ponatur anas, sed pectore tantum Et ceruice (*sic*); caetera redde coco.
- 12, 7, 61] Unde et Ouidius (*Am.* 2, 6, 56): Oscula . . . mari.
- 12, 7, 62] Palumbi caro in cibum sumpta premit libidinem. Unde et Martialis (13, 67): Inguina torquati . . . salax.
- 12, 8, 13] Culices zinzalas dicimus.
- 12, 8, 14] Scinifes uulgo zinzales nominantur.
- 13, 21, 26] Padus apud ueteres Budincus etiam uocabatur (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 3, 122). Padus autem a palude nominatur (cf. Isid.).
- 14, 4, 18] DE ITALIA (red). Italia ob uini copiam Oenotria appellata est. Italiam Cato appellatam ait ab Italo rege; Timaeus quod in ea boum quondam fuerit multitudo, Graecos autem antiquos solitos esse uocare tauros italos, a quibus<sup>1</sup> uidentur dicti uituli. In Italia inter Appenninum Padumque longior hominibus uitae (*leg.* uita est), ut Plinio Secundo (*N.H.* 7, 162) placet.

Samnitibus nomen est inditum propter genus hastae quas saunia appellabant, quibus uti solebant. Alii dicunt ex Sabinis uere sacro natos circiter hominum septem milia duce Cominio Castronio profectos occu-

<sup>1</sup> So read in Paul. Fest. 94, 10 ab italīs sunt dicti.



passee collem cui nomen erat Samnio, indeque traxisse uocabulum (= Fest. 436).

Picena regio, ubi est Asculum, a Sabinis est appellata quod inde uere sacro nati cum Asculum proficiscerentur, in uexillo eorum picus consederat (= Paul. Fest. 235).

Apulia a perditione nominata. Ἀπολία (*sic*) enim Graece perditio dicitur eo quod ibi sol calore nimio perdit uiuentia quaeque; sed et sol Appollo (*sic*) ab hac perditione uocatus est. Apulia gignit animal lepori simile quod prospere cata antiphrasin dicitur. Quodcumque enim animal tetigerit, praeter hominem, ilico moritur. Hoc et subitellus dicitur, uel quia subito peremit, uel quia celer est. Nam nimium currit: fertur etiam tres pedes habere cum quibus currit; nam quartus brevis est et usque ad terram non pertingens.

14, 6, 32 ? (fol. 92<sup>r</sup>)] Terracina . . . mari (= Solin. 2, 22), et pro eo quia terrae sociata est Terracina dicta est. Siciliam ab Italia mare diuisit; hanc coniunxit. Lingea insula uocata de nomine mulieris ibidem sepultae (cf. Solin. 2, 9).

14, 8 (fol. 92<sup>v</sup>)] Vesulus mons Ligurum est superantissimus inter iuga Alpium (cf. Solin. 2, 25), dictus quia uidetur a longe solus, ceteris non apparentibus. Ab huius gremio Padus oritur (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 3, 117).

Auentinus mons dicitur a quodam rege sic nominato ibique sepulto (cf. Paul. Fest. 17; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 657).

14, 8, 23 ? (fol. 93<sup>r</sup>)] Campi Lapidarii in Liguria dicti quia ibi dimicante Hercule creduntur pluuisse saxa (cf. Solin. 2, 5).

15, 1, 55 ? (fol. 93<sup>v</sup>)] Roma Graece, Latine Valentia dicitur. Sed prius oppidum ab Euandro sic appellatum est ubi nunc ipsa est. Eraclydes dicit, Troia capta, Achiuos ubi nunc Roma est deuenisse; dein, suadente Rome captiua quadam nobilissima comite eorum, incensis nauibus posuisse sedes, et oppidum ab eo (ea ?) Romen uocauisse. Agathocle<s> scribit Romen non captiuam fuisse, sed Ascanio natam Aeneae neptem appellationis istius causam fuisse. Traditur interea proprium et uerum Rom<a>e nomen uetitum publicari, et Valerium Soranum, quia contra interdictum id ausus fuerit eloqui, neci datum (cf. Fest. 326; Serv. auct. *Aen.* 1, 273; Solin. 1, 1-5).

15, 1 ? (fol. 95<sup>r</sup>)] Apsoron (-in ?) ciuitas Dalmatiae ex Apsirti nomine dicta est, quem rex A<ee>ta ad Iasonem persequendum misit. Cuius sepulcrum plenum serpentibus dicitur, ex quo qui exierit ilico moritur (? cf. Hyginus *Fab.* 23, p. 54, 10 S.; 26, p. 55, 18 S.).

Barrium (*sic*) urbem Italiae conditores eius expulsi ex insula Barra, quae non longe est a Brundisio, appellauerunt (= Paul. Fest. 30).

Ardea a Dan<a>e condita est; Policlen a comitibus Herculis. Ionica[m] a Ione Naulochi filia dicta est quam Hercules interemit (cf. Solin. 2, 5-6).

Ameria urbs Vmbriae dicta a Miro conditore qui eo loco ex Corsa

(*sic*) profectus est (cf. Paul. Fest. 19). Pupulonium (*sic*) Populonus condidit Amiri[s] frater; Sicidium Syllus condidit, Amiri et Populonii frater. Perusiam condidit Auliscus (Aulestes, Serv. auct. *Aen.* 10, 198), qui Romulo aduersus Sabinos auxilium tulit. Urbem Vetus condidit Vetulus, Vulsin<i>um</i> Vulsus, Bolaterris Volatrus. Hi tres fratres fuerunt, filii Rasenna (*ut uid., ex -ni*) regis ex Etruria. Habuerunt autem et alios nouem fratres, id est Pacidum, Falsum, Cortisum, Lusum, Persam, Trasonium, Beiolum, Apeleium, Tragum, qui omnes urbes singulas condiderunt, easque a suis nominibus appellauerunt.

Roma, ut Varro dicit, quadrata fuit (? cf. Solin. 1, 17). Moenia Romae metiuntur p(assus)  $\overline{\text{XIII}}$  (XIII MCC Plin. *N.H.* 3, 66); habet portas XXXVII, ex quibus VII esse desierunt.

Aenaria, quod ibi Aeneas classem appulerit appellata (cf. Paul. Fest. 18).

Baulanum (*sic*) dictum quod Sabelli, cum sedes quaerent, bouem secuti sunt eo proposito ut ibi oppidum conderent ubi ille requieuisset. Igitur a boue Baulanum est appellatum.

Aricia ab Archilocho Siculo condita et appellata est. Caieta a nutrice Aeneae dicta, Lauinium ab uxore eius. Pisas Pelopidae condiderunt (cf. Solin. 2, 10, 13, 7).

Beneuentum, colonia . . . Maloe<n>ton uocabant (= Paul. Fest. 31). Beneuentum et Arpos Diomedes condidit (= Solin. 2, 10).

Ariminum a nomine . . . dictum (= Paul. Fest. 23).

Praeneste dicta est a Praeneste Vlixii nepote, Latini filio; ut alii uolunt, a C<a>eculo condita est (cf. Solin. 2, 9).

Atella dicta est quod atrae ficus, hoc est nigrae, eo loco abundant; atra enim diminutium atellam facit.

15, 3, 5] Alii putant a Pale pastorum ideo (*sic*) dictum Palatium, alii a Palanto (*sic*) muliere quam Hercules compresserat (cf. Solin. 1, 15).

15, 4, ? (fol. 97<sup>r</sup>)] Fanum Herculis fuit in foro Boario in quo neque muscis neque canibus ingressus erat (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 10, 79; Solin. 1, 10). Ideo in templis paganorum foramina in tecto relinquebantur quia, cum Tarquinius . . . Terminus mansit, idem lapis quem pro Ioue Saturnus comedit, quem poeta Capitolii . . . frueretur. Ad quam similitudinem cetera templa postea perforato in medio tecto fundata sunt (= Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 37 sqq.). Simili modo quia beati Petri, etc.

15, 15, 1] Iugerum appellatur spatium quantum iugum bouum in die arare (-ri *cod.*) debet; compositum nomen ex duobus corruptis, uno nomine, alio uerbo: iugo scilicet et arare.

16, 25 (fol. 106<sup>r</sup>)] Expensa ab aere appenso appellata. Compendium a pendendo dictum; dispendium damnum, impensam sumptum, usuram impendium; seruos qui aes dispendebant dispensatores ueteres dixerunt. Postea factum est ut numeraretur pecunia, non expenderetur; et tamen nomen pristinum mansit. Aedem Saturni a publica pecunia aerarium

appellarunt, quia pauperes adhuc Romani aere utebantur, et quod debebant aes alienum, quod possidebant aes suum dicebant. Vnde et adhuc, quamuis mutatis speciebus, nomina tamen ipsa perseuerant. In nummis antiquis ideo ex una parte Ianus quia Ianus Saturnum dicitur excepisse cum nauigio uenit (cf. Lact. 1, 13, 6). Hinc Ouidius (*Fast.* 1, 239-240): At . . . dei.

Sestertius dipondium ualebat apud antiquos. Denarius apud antiquos decussim ualebat. Victoriatus dicebatur qui Victoriae figuram impressam habebat, et ualebat quinquies. Ex hoc et quinariam appellabant. Iulius primus Victoriam in denariis fecit.

- 16, 26, 9] Metreta<sup>7</sup> est <sup>7</sup>mensura quae recipit centum sextarios. \*\*phi (the first two letters seem imitations of majuscule *oe*) mensura est capiens modios tres (cf. *Metrol.* p. 142, 1-4 H.).
- 17, 5, 32] Caper cum uitem praerosisset, plenius fructum attulit, atque hinc antiquitus putatio inuenta est (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 274, p. 149, 8 S.).
- 17, 8, 4] Filuminus dicit stacten murrām solutam esse. Nam est et ita durata ut ex ea pocula fiant quae appellantur murrina. Hinc est illud Martialis (3, 26, 1): Murrina solus habes, solus habes, Candide, nummos (*sic*).
- 18, 8] Victor historiographus: Ego uitae principum pertractans, etc. (about the rarity of princes proficient in archery. This citation on fol. 117<sup>v</sup>, which I did not transcribe in full, does not appear in Pichlmayr's edition of Aurelius Victor nor in Mommsen's edition of Victor Tunnunensis. Does it refer to Domitian?).
- 18, 16, 2 ? (fol. 118<sup>v</sup>)] Ludorum genera plura erant: Panathenna (*sic*), ludi Atheniensium. In ludis Apollinis uictor mala accipiebat; certabant autem pythaeus, qui tibiis aereis canebant, et citharistae. Ludos funebres Perseus Polydectae (pollidecte *cod.*) nutritori suo primus instituit. Pom-machus (*sic*) ludus Latine pancratius dicitur. Ludus diaulus; ludus c<a>estorum; ludus disci; ludus cen<o>taphi (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, pp. 146-147 S.).
- 18, 52 ? (fol. 120<sup>r</sup>)] Martialis quidam iuuenis Carpo-forus nomine temporibus Titi XX ursos in spectaculo contra se simul dimissos interfecit. Idem aduersus leonem, pardum et tigrin<sup>1</sup> aprumque pariter dimicauit.
- 19, 1, 11 ? (fol. 120<sup>v</sup>)] Alexandrini primi cera naues pinxerunt.
- 19, 1 ? (fol. 121<sup>r</sup>)] Argo nauem a poetis Mineruam dicitur fecisse et primam in pelagus misisse (? cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 14, p. 49, 16 S.).
- 19, 2, 3] Columbaria dicuntur in nauī ea quibus remi eminent (= Fest. 168, 13).
- 19, 16, 2] Monochromon, id est uno colore, Zeuxis quidam nomine pinxit. Callicles et Serapion minute pinxerunt. Hi enim primi artifices fuerunt. Apelles septem coloribus primus pinxit, idemque lumen et umbram primus inuenit. Alexander Magnus dixit ne quis . . . Pyr-go<teles> aere scalperet. Aristidis Thebani . . . licitus est (= Plin. *N.H.* 7, 125-126).
- 19, 22, 16] Linea genere suo appellata, quod ex lino fit (cf. Isid.).

<sup>1</sup> So Mart. *Spect.* xv must be defective. The epigram must have mentioned a tiger too. Should we read in line 2 *quinta* for *quanta* (as at 7, 93, 7)?



19, 34, 2 ? (fol. 127<sup>r</sup>)] Monocrepis dicitur uno pede calciatus (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 12, p. 43, 15 S.).

20, 2, 15 ? (fol. 128<sup>r</sup>)] Hyginus<sup>1</sup> (Eginos *cod.*) philosophus pan, qui et artos, primus fruges consparsas in testa coxit. Hinc apud Graecos artos, apud Romanos panis appellatur.

20, 3, 2 ? (fol. 128<sup>v</sup>)] Vinum aegris dare Terofilus primus instituit. Vinum frigidum bibendum Cleofantes dari instituit. Vinum candenti ferro calefactum multis infirmitatibus medetur, maxime disinteriae. Quidam Cerassus nomine uinum . . . miscere Graece cerase dictum est. Antiqui Romani in lectis triclin<i>aribus in fulcris capita asellorum . . . significantes eum uini suauitatem inuenisse (= Hyg. *Fab.* 274, p. 149 S.).

Abbé Liebaert pronounced the ornamentation of the MS. to be Central Italian. Its minuscule script, apparently of saec. xi-xii, is not the script of South Italy, the Beneventan type. Dr. Loew, the leading authority on the subject, ascribes the Festus MS. (now at Naples) to the Roman region. Liebaert convinced me that the famous uncial Glossary, associated with Festus, *Vat. lat.* 3321, was written rather in Central than in Southern Italy; for, 'although there are at the beginning of the volume scraps in Beneventan script, which have been taken from the binding, still the minuscule writing on foll. 170<sup>v</sup>-171<sup>r</sup> is not Beneventan and was written in the period when only Beneventan script was used in Southern Italy.' I inferred that it was the scriptoria of Central Italy in the first place, and Monte Cassino in the second place only, which would be likely to provide material for our reconstruction of Festus; so my second volume, which will deal 'inter alia' with the reconstruction of Festus (and of Verrius Flaccus too), must be delayed until this hunting-ground should be well searched. Latin MSS. of Central Italian provenance would be likely to find their way into the Vatican collections (excluding the Palatini and Reginenses) and the other libraries of Rome. For MSS. of Southern Italy the Monte Cassino library must be added to these. I counted myself fortunate in having arranged with Abbé Liebaert that he should first search the Vaticana, the Vallicelliana, the Casanatense, etc., and afterwards visit Monte Cassino in quest of such scholia. Alas! his lamented death spoiled this and so many other plans which he himself had made for the advancement of knowledge.

But these scholia come from North-East Italy. The Isidore occupies foll. 1-131<sup>v</sup> (to one-third of col. ii) of the MS. There follows (on fol. 131<sup>v</sup>) by the same hand: Vir Beatissimus Domnus Grauso Episcopus Suis Quae Fecit Temporibus (all this in majuscules). Then comes: Scemata ex Graeco in Latinum eloquium figurae interpretantur quae fiunt in uerbis uel sentiis, etc. (cf. Isid. *Etym.* 1, 36). This ends on fol. 132<sup>v</sup> near the beginning of the second column, the rest of the page being blank. (The remaining part of the MS. belongs to the Renaissance period.) Grausus was Bp. of Ceneda c. 1000 A.D.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ST. ANDREWS,  
November 9, 1915.

<sup>1</sup> Editors of Cassiodorus, please note.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**American Journal of Philology.** Vol. XXXVI. 3. 1915.

J. A. J. Drewitt, *The -σσ- Forms in Homer*. The writer would show that the doubling of the  $\sigma$  is metrical and due to 'the stress of the arsis.' He thinks that in the case of 'Ἀχιλλεύς and 'Οδυσσεύς forms like 'Αχιλλῆος and 'Οδυσσῆος arose through cross associations by the side of the correct ones 'Αχιλλῆος 'Οδυσῆος. B. O. Foster, *The Trojan War Again*. Defends Van Leeuwen's theories against the attacks of Prof. John Scott. The events of the original *Iliad* fell into a single year; the passages which mention or appear to presuppose a ten years' war are either interpolated or inconclusive. A. L. Forthingham, *Grabovius-Gradivus. Plan and Pomerium of Iguvium*. *Grabovius* is to be equated to *Gradivus* as the moving, marching god. The basis of the *templum*, *arx* and city of Iguvium was the triangular form. John C. Rolfe, *The so-called callium prouincia*. Discusses the problems arising out of the passages cited by the Thesaurus under this heading, Tac. *Ann.* 4. 27 'Curtius Lupus quaestor cui prouincia uetere ex more calles ('Cales' Lipsius) euenerant,' Suet. *Iul.* 19 'prouinciae . . . minimi negotii, i.e. siluae callesque,' Q. Curt. 3. 4. 5 being rejected as irrelevant.

**Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.** 1915.

Nov. 27. L. Radermacher, *Die Erzählungen der Odyssee* (Hausrath). C. W. Nauck, *Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Oden und Epoden*, erkl. von C. W. N., 18th edition, revised (a second time) by P. Hoppe (Röhl). The editor has carefully studied recent work on the subject. *Die Handschriften der badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*. VI.: A. Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* beschrieben und erläutert. 2. Band: Die Papierhandschriften. Fragmenta. Nachträge (Weinberger). T. Wegeleben, *Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen* (Soltau). W. throws some light on a difficult problem, and makes good use of inscriptions. R. Blümel, *Einführung in die Syntax* (Meltzer). A volume of the 'Sprachwissenschaftliche Gymnasialbibliothek' edited by M. Niedermann. Highly praised as a clear exposition of the views of J. Ries, Wundt, Brugmann and others.

Dec. 4. H. G. Viljoen, *Herodoti fragmenta in papyris servata* (Kallenberg). A useful collection of the fragments and a careful comparison of the forms found in them with those found in the MSS.

Dec. 11. K. Ziegler, *Catalogus codicum classicorum Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca urtica Wratislaviensi adseruantur* compositus a K. Z. (Kroll). Part of the work was done by Skutsch, Wünsch and others. A. Ferrabino, *Kalypso. Saggio d'una Storia del Mito* (Gruppe). Anyone who is studying the myths of Perseus, Demeter, Cacus or Cyrene will do well to consult this book. The section on Cacus is specially valuable; the author shows that it is a mistake to suppose that Virgil's story is mainly the product of his own imagination. J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Thalheim). Vol. III., completing the work. H. Blümner, *Technologie*

und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern. I. Zweite, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage (Tittel). The first edition appeared forty years ago; this may be regarded as a new book. A. Thumb, *Grammatik der neugriechischen Volkssprache* (Bees). A small book for beginners.

Dec. 18. C. Zander, *Eurythmia vel compositio rythmica prosae antiquae*. II. *Numeri Latini aetas integra vel rythmicae leges antiquioris orationis Latinae* (Ammon). Gives an appreciative sketch of contents. E. C. Quiggin, *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. by E. C. Q. (Pfister). Gives a list of the papers which concern the classical scholar. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*. III. Band (Soltau). For the student of the classics the chapters on 'Die Zeitrechnung in Makedonien, Kleinasien, Syrien' and 'Altgermanische und keltische Zeitrechnung' are useful, also the appendices and comparative tables. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*. Tome I.: *Les conditions du développement historique, les temps primitifs, la colonisation phénicienne et l'empire de Carthage* (Regling). The first part of an important work.

Dec. 25. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Helm). M. Mayer, *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisierung* (Wide). A quarto volume with many illustrations putting together the results of many years' work.

1916. Jan. 1. H. v. Arnim, *Platos Jugenddialoge und die Entstehungszeit des Phaidros* (Raeder). The principal object of the book is to show in what order the earlier dialogues were written. The writer tries to find in the subject-matter an answer to the questions which in an earlier work he tried to solve by the evidence of the language. G. Plaumann, *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz* (Gelzer). 'This edition of fragments of papyrus of the third century B.C. is a masterpiece.' F. Bücheler, *Kleine Schriften*. I. (Schmalz). It is intended to reprint B.'s contributions to periodicals and other writings which did not appear in book-form. The first volume contains sixty-one papers. H. Lietzmann contributes to this number an obituary notice of Paul Wendland.

Jan. 8. A. W. Ahlberg, *C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Jugurthinum* (Klotz). Gives a full record of the readings of the MSS. M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*. Zweiter Band. Erste Abt. (Poland). As good as the first volume. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τοῦ ἔτους 1913 (Kern). J. H. Schmalz contributes to this number a paper 'Zu Sallustius (Jug. 79, 8; 102, 3; 12, 3; 97, 5)' in which he praises Ahlberg's work, but disagrees with his reading in the passages named.

Jan. 15. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part X. ed. by B. P. G. and A. S. H. (Sitzler). As good as the earlier volumes. F. Vollmer, *Poetae latini minores*. Post Aemilium Baehrens rec. F. V. Vol. V. (Tolkiehn). This edition of the works of Dracontius is not a mere reprint of the larger edition in *Mon. Germaniae Auct. antiq.* Tom. XIV. (1905). The text has been carefully revised. H. Diels, *Antike Technik*. Sechs Vorträge. Mit 50 Abbild. und 9 Tafeln (Max C. P. Schmidt). The reviewer gives an interesting account of the contents, and suggests that when Sophocles described the cave of Philoctetes (δίστομος πύτρα and δι' ἀμφιπρήτος αὐλίου) he had in mind the description by Herodotus of the tunnel at Samos (ὄρυγμα ἀμφίστομον, III. 60), which Sophocles must have seen when he took part in the conquest of the island.

Jan. 22. L. Schönberger, *Studien zum 1. Buch der Harmonik des Claudius Ptolemäus* (Max C. P. Schmidt). P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona* (Anthes). Brief sketch of contents.

Jan. 29. H. Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*. Zehnte Auflage (Schmalz). A useful reference book for classical Latin. Carefully revised. Good index. J. van Wageningen, *M. Manilii Astronomica*, ed. J. v. W. (Kraemer).



Text with Praefatio (23 pages) and useful indexes. *Festgabe Hugo Blümner überreicht zum 9 Aug. 1914 von Freunden und Schülern* (Pfister). The reviewer sketches the contents. C. W. Keyes, *The rise of the equites in the third century of the Roman empire* (Soltau). A Princeton University dissertation. Good use has been made of inscriptions.

Feb. 5. Fr. Helmreich, *Der Chor im Drama des Äschylus. I.* (J. Ziehen). A valuable study of the growing importance of the actor at the expense of the chorus in *Pers.*, *Suppl.*, *Sept.*, *Prom.* L. Dittmeyer, *Guilelmi Moerbekensis translatio commentationis Aristotelicae De generatione animalium* (Rudberg). Valuable for the study of the text of Aristotle. R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée* (Wide). The second edition, which is much larger and more fully illustrated than the first, is very highly praised. F. W. Robinson, *Marius Saturninus und Glaucia. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jahre 106-100 v. Chr.* 1912 (Lenschau). Advances our knowledge on some important points. M. Heynacher, *Beiträge zur zeitgemässen Behandlung der lateinischen Grammatik auf statistischer Grundlage.* 2. Auflage (Schmalz). Such a book helps one to distinguish the more important facts from the less important. In this number W. Fox discusses the reading in *Cic. Mil.* 67, and comes to the conclusion that some such word as *creduntur* has been omitted. He would read *Quae si tamen creduntur, si metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non iam.* . . .

#### Classical Philology. Vol. X. No. 4. 1915.

F. F. Abbott, *The Colonizing Policy of the Romans from 123 to 31 B.C.* Originally colonies were not sent outside Italy, the Roman ones being for purposes of defence and the Latin military outposts and centres of Roman influence. The Gracchi introduced the colony founded for social and economic reasons, as Tiberius' colonies at Scolacium, Tarentum and Carthage (Iunonia). The extension of the colonizing policy is marked by several developments; the growing influence of the commercial classes, the democratic movement, the pressure of the army and in particular the obliteration of the line of distinction between Italy and the provinces as seats for colonies. R. J. Bonner, *The Four Senates of the Boeotians.* Criticizes Mr. Walker's rejection (on the ground of the silence of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*) of Thucydides' statement that the Boeotian federal Senate was quadripartite. H. L. Axtell, *Men's Names in the Writings of Cicero.* An analysis of Cicero's usage of the various combinations found of praenomen, nomen and cognomen. Lahmayer's view that the invariable order where the praenomen is omitted is (1) nomen and (2) cognomen is refuted. H. R. Fairclough, *The tinus in Virgil's flora.* In *G.* 4. 112, 141 *tinus*, not *pinus*, is the right reading. The *laurustinus*, a great favourite of bees, is meant. Eleanor F. Rambo, *The significance of the Wing-entrances in Roman Comedy.* Discussion of the various exits and entrances of characters in the extant dramas. E. T. Merrill, *Cicero and Bithynicus.* The Pompeius Bithynicus of *Fam.* vi. 16 and 17 is the younger one. The two letters are not connected. Amongst Notes and Discussions J. A. Scott maintains that 'the Homeric caesura is purely metrical and furnishes little or no indication of the construction or meaning of the verse.' F. E. Robbins suggests that Eur. *Cycl.* 218 *μεμιγμένον (γάλα)* is an attempt to interpret the *ἄκρητον γάλα* of *Od.* 9. 297. J. C. Rolfe examines the use of *gens* and *familia* by Suetonius. R. P. Robinson defends 'Hortensius' in *Catull.* 95. 3 and A. R. Anderson Acro's interpretation of '*exstructis in altum diuitiis*' *Hor. C.* 2. 3. 19 as rich mansions 'piled into the deep.' The date of Philocrates' archonship is now fixed for '266-5 B.C.,' A. C. Johnson.

#### Classical Weekly (New York). 1915.

Dec. 4. J. L. Myres, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus (P. V. C. Baur). 'A masterly contribution to

religion and ritual is given as an introduction.' J. E. Sandys, *A Short History of Classical Scholarship* (C. N. Jackson). In a single volume presents the essential facts.

Dec. 18. F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Third edition (H. R. Fairclough). 'Deserves careful consideration on the part of all students of Rome and early Britain.'

1916. Jan. 8. A. Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi with outline Drawing* (T. L. Shear). This book and W. Riezler's *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen* admirably supplement each other.

Jan. 15. John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*. Part I., Thales to Plato (R. B. English). 'There is no other volume covering the same period in which the general reader is so well instructed and the scholar so highly edified.'

Jan. 29. F. Sommer, (1) *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*. (2) *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*. 'The new edition of Sommer's indispensable *Handbuch* is much improved both in plan and in content. The most noteworthy innovation is the inclusion of copious references to the literature . . . the discussion of 148 controversial points had to be relegated to a separate volume, which is intended solely for specialists in historical grammar.' H. B. Van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*. A Princeton University Dissertation (C. U. Clark). 'The trained palaeographer will find the book of great value and suggestiveness, and it will be indispensable for every future effort to date a document in Roman script.'

Feb. 5. M. H. Morgan, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*. Translated by M. H. M. (W. N. Wetmore). 'The greatest of all the important works of Professor Morgan. It is faithful and exact.' A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (W. H. P. Hatch). 'This is a voluminous and exhaustive grammar of N.T. Greek. Dr. R. seems to have neglected no book or article of importance in the special field of N.T. grammar.' In this number is reprinted the text of the *Epitaph of Allia Potestas* with translation and notes.

#### Mnemosyne. XLIV. 1. 1916.

I. C. Vollgraff begins a series of articles containing emendations and suggestions on Plato's *Republic*, the present instalment dealing with Books 1 and 2. P. J. Enk, *The Composition of Plautus' Stichus*, controverts the views (1) of Leo that the *Stichus* was 'contaminated' from three Greek plays, (2) of Suess who denies contamination altogether. The didascalía states that the play is derived from the *Adelphi* of Menander. Schoell has shown that M. wrote two plays so named, and that the *Stichus* is derived from the earlier. Enk, however, argues that Act V. cannot be traced to M.'s *Adelphi*. He supports Teuffel's view that Plautus has substituted a 'conuiuium seruorum' for M.'s 'conuiuium dominorum.' W. Vollgraff continues his study of Argive inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C. He discusses (1) meaning of ἀλιαία τελεία occurring in a Mycenaean inscription of the second century. He takes the words to mean a 'principal assembly,' several of which were held annually. (2) δεύτατος, the expression used for the last of the three divisions of the month. (3) Πάναμος and Αγυῆος, names of Argive months hitherto unknown, found in an inscription in honour of the Rhodians. V. infers that they = May-June and June-July respectively. (4) In the light of this he deals with evidence for the season at which the Nemean games were held, which he places at end of May not, as others, at midsummer. (5) Citizens were enrolled according to a third-century inscription ἐνς φυλὰν καὶ φάτραν καὶ πεντηκοστήν. V. takes πεντηκοστής as =  $\frac{1}{50}$  of the land of Argos, but the φάτρα was retained for religious purposes. (6) V. refers to the arbitration of the Argives on the dispute between the Melians and Cimolians (discussed vol. 43, p. 383 sq.), supports Dittenberger in the view that it arose out of

the synedrion summoned by Philip in 338 B.C., and argues that forms found in the inscription are not inconsistent with this date. (7) V. gives text of an inscription in honour of Alexander of Sicyon (found in 1906), which he dates circa 249-244, and appends annotations. J. C. Naber, continuing his *Observations on Roman Law*, deals with the Law of Contract in Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire. J. J. Hartman on Catullus LVIII. argues that we have here two distinct poems, (1) vv. 1-40, being a consolation to Manlius; (2) vv. 41-160, an elegy with dedicatory epistle to Allius. H. urges (1) difference of subject-matter of the verses; (2) name of person addressed in the first portion begins with a consonant, in the second with a vowel; (3) first part addressed to a non-resident, second to a resident at Rome; (4) person addressed in first part is ignorant of death of poet's brother, in second part knows of it. M. Boas has a note on the *Cod. Turonensis* of the Catonian monostichs. J. J. Hartman has short notes on Ov. *Tr.* V. 9, 35, on Thuc. V. 14 and on Plat. *Rep.* p. 600 E.

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. XXXIX. Parts 2 and 3. 1915.

Alfred Ernout, Lucrèce, *de la Nature*, livre IV. : introduction, texte, traduction et notes. REVIEWS: P. Saintyves, *La force magique, Du mana des primitifs au dynamisme scientifique*. Paris, E. Norwy. Omont H., *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais* (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions XL.). Paris, Klincksieck, 1914. Revue des Revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. Fascicules parus en 1914.



# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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JULY, 1916.

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## AMYNTOR IN THE *DOLONEIA*.

WHEN Odysseus and Diomedes are about to set out on their adventure in the tenth *Iliad*, Meriones lends the former a noble *κυνέη*, the workmanship of which is carefully described. Then comes its history, which opens with the lines (K 266 sq.) :

τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο  
ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος<sup>1</sup> πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας.

That, as has often been observed, is in apparent conflict with I. 447 sqq., where Amyntor, son of Ormenos (and father of Phoenix), is settled in Hellas. The *Doloneia*, on the other hand, represents him as inhabiting Eleon, which is in Boeotia (B 500). Some have solved the difficulty by the not very violent supposition that there was an Eleon in Hellas, and others with the remark that Amyntor may not have always lived so far north.

These are critics who can consider the contents of the *Doloneia* without impatience, but theirs is not the general attitude. Dr. Leaf, in his edition of the *Iliad*, considers the lay to be the production of a late bard, whom he does not suffer gladly, and in his recent work (*Homer and History*, 116 sq.) deals the unfortunate one more rebuke, this time for reprehensible levity in his treatment of a heroic personage. 'There is nothing to show that the author of the *Doloneia* did more than take the first name that came to hand for a piquant anecdote; if he thought of Amyntor as a Hellene at all, he conceals the fact.'

The couplet in K is really worth more consideration than it has yet received. In the first place, it is difficult, if not impossible, to construe it satisfactorily. How is the genitive Ἀμύντορος to be accounted for? The commentators generally note that it depends on δόμον, and this view has the very high support of Dr. Leaf and Dr. Monro. But it is the fact that such a disjunction as this involves is unparalleled in Homer. There appears to be no collection in the books of instances of dislocation of sentences, and it is perhaps not generally known how extraordinarily few such departures from the Homeric

<sup>1</sup> A few editors put a comma here.

clearness and directness are. Editors comment on M 177 sq., Ξ 153 sq., O 14, Φ 504, and Ψ 339 sq. In the *Odyssey* there seems to be nothing worth mentioning, except perhaps ζ 53 sq. There are a number of other passages in which, as in the case under consideration, the genitive is separated from the noun governing it, as κρατερόν ῥά ἐ πένθος | ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάλυψε κασιγνήτιο, or Πανθοῖδαι | χειρὸς ἀπὸ στιβαρῆς ἄλιον πηδῆσαι ἄκοντα, but in these there is no violence to the structure of the sentence. In our couplet the genitive comes first, and is left *pendens*, without government, while the main course of the sentence, which this genitive interrupts, is completed, when a subsidiary clause is added providing a noun to rescue the stranded genitive. If we are bound to this interpretation, the disorder of the sentence is unique.

The alternative construction would be to read Ἐλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος together, and to translate 'the Eleon of Amyntor' or 'Amyntor's (city) Eleon'; but to such a combination an exact parallel cannot be found. The genitive would be like that in Οἰλῆος Αἴας, but there seems to be no case in which the name of a place is so used, though instances like δῆμος Ἐρεχθῆος and ἄστν Πριάμοιο are common enough. The nearest perhaps is Πύλος Νηληϊῶς, where the adjective is equivalent to Νηληϊος, as in Ὀδυσῆϊος δόμος, Αἰπύτιος τύμβος, etc. This alternative construction of Ἀμύντορος is in fact as unique as the other.

So the possibility of corruption may be considered. A conjectural restoration must be 'intrinsically suitable,' and 'such as to account for the corrupt reading in the transmitted text' (Jebb in the *Companion to Greek Studies*, 621). I suggest εἰσελθὼν ἐς for ἐξ Ἐλεῶνος as fulfilling these conditions.

The words are very similar in sound to ἐξ Ἐλεῶνος, they give excellent sense, and the construction is rendered clear. And the language is thoroughly Homeric. The preposition is not infrequently used redundantly. For an occurrence of ἐς with ἐσέρχομαι see δ 802. For ἐς with δόμον or the like understood, we have ἐς Ἀλκινόοιο, ἐς Ἀθηναίης, etc.

Next, the corruption has to be accounted for—ἐξ Ἐλεῶνος from an original εἰσελθὼν ἐς. The confusion of -ος and -ες need not detain us. It has occurred elsewhere, as in Eurip. *Alc.* 31, μηνὸς ἔρχεται and μὴν ἐσέρχεται. There remains ἐξ Ἐλε-, which a scribe—*uicina uicinis accommodans*, as Cobet phrases it—may have introduced from the opening of the line below, ἐξέλε(τ'). This is an *allbekannte* source of error (Blass in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch, Einleitende*, 253). 'A scribe often substituted for the true word a word from the immediate context in a temporary aberration of mind,' Professor Lindsay says in his *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, 66. He has kindly referred me to an exactly similar case to the present one in Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 73 sq.,

*uenire quod moleste quam illuc quod cupide petas.*  
*molestus ne sis,*

where *moleste* is held to be wrong, and to have crept into the text from the *molestus* of the second line.<sup>1</sup> In the *Doloneia* the ἐξέλε- may well have had the

<sup>1</sup> See C.R., xix. 110.

same effect, but it is also to be noticed that the syllables introduced, ἐξ Ἑλε-, are, from a palaeographical point of view, very similar to those displaced, εἰσελθ-. ξ has taken the place of ισ and ε that of θ. Now both these changes are familiar. See Jebb, *l.c.*, 611, Blass, *l.c.*, 264, and Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, 6, 279 sq. and 370. All three authorities mention the frequent confusion of ἐκ or ἐξ with ἐς or εἰς. For two instances in the *Iliad* see N 214 and Σ 492.

And, finally, it is very noteworthy that the participle εἰσελθών(-οῦσα) occurs seven times in the *Iliad* (there happens to be no occurrence in the *Odyssey*), and that in no fewer than five of these it occupies the exact position, after the first foot, to which it is now proposed to restore it. The other two occurrences are of a repeated line, in which the participle occupies the first place.

It seems hard to resist the conclusion that the translation of Amyntor to Eleon was the work of a scribe, and that one more blot may be removed from the surface of ἡ ταλαίπωρος Δολώνεια.

A. SHEWAN.

ST. ANDREWS.

#### EURIPIDES, *SVPLICES*, 1114 sq.

τάδε δὴ παίδων καὶ δὴ φθιμένων  
ὅστᾳ φέρετε. λάβετ', ἀμφίπολοι, κ.τ.λ.

So MSS. For φέρετε *metri causa* Scaliger proposed φέρεται, an emendation rightly accepted by editors. In the preceding line καὶ δὴ conceals a corruption.

Wilamowitz reads :

καὶ μὴν παίδων τάδε δὴ.

The change, however, is too violent to recommend itself on palaeographic grounds. In his *notatio critica* Murray says : Fortasse παισὶ.

Following παίδων, παισὶ seems somewhat weak.

For καὶ δὴ I would suggest the neuter plural of κῆδος, κήδη and punctuate after φθιμένων :

τάδε δὴ παίδων κήδη φθιμένων.  
ὅστᾳ φέρεται. λάβετ', ἀμφίπολοι, κ.τ.λ.

We may compare Pind. *P.* IV. 200 :

κᾶδος φθιμένου θήκασθαι.

H. G. VILJOEN.

MIDDELBURG (CAPE).



## EMENDATIONS IN EURIPIDES' *MEDEA*.

*Medea* v. 856 sqq.

πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενὸς ἢ  
χειρὶ τέκνων σέθεν  
καρδία τε λήψῃ  
δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν ;

So the MSS. The only emendation worth mentioning is that of Porson's censor *Class. Journ.* I. 565: ἄφρονισῇ for ἢ φρενὸς ἢ. The error appears to me to be even simpler. We need not make any violent change. It is a case of accents and punctuation. The reading and punctuation I would suggest are :

πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενός ; ἢ  
χειρὶ τέκνων σέθεν  
καρδία τε λήψῃ  
δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν ;

For θράσος φρενός we may compare Soph. *Aias* 46 :

ποίαισι τόλμαις ταῖσδε καὶ φρενῶν θράσει ;

*Ibid.* 909 sq. Perhaps we should read :

εἰκὸς γὰρ ὀργὰς θῆλυ ποιεῖσθαι γένος  
γάμου παρεμπολῶντος ἄλλ' οἶ' οὐ πόσει.

ἁλλοίου of the MSS. cannot be right.

*Ibid.* 1087 sqq.

πάσαισι μὲν οὖ· παῦρον δὲ δὴ  
γένος ἐν πολλαῖς εὖροις ἂν ἴσως  
κοῦκ ἀπόμουσον τὸ γυναικῶν.

No satisfactory emendation of this passage has yet been offered. Transposition of vv. 1088 and 1089 seems to be the least violent change :

|                                  |      |
|----------------------------------|------|
| πάσαισι μὲν οὖ· παῦρον δὲ δὴ     |      |
| κοῦκ ἀπόμουσον τὸ γυναικῶν       | 1089 |
| γένος ἐν πολλαῖς εὖροις ἂν ἴσως. | 1088 |

*Ibid.* 1267 sqq. Perhaps we should read :

ἀμείβεται  
χαλεπὰ γὰρ βροτοῖς ὁμογενῇ μιά-  
σματ' ἔτι τ' αἰάν' αὐτοφόνταις ξυνφ-  
δά θεόθεν πίτνοντ' ἐπὶ δόμοις ἄχῃ.

In uncials ETITAIAN could easily be corrupted into EΠITAIAN. Hesychius has the gloss :

αἰανόν· χαλεπόν, κακόν.

As a rule critics believe in the form αἰανής. But apart from Hesychius' testimony MS. evidence supports the form αἰανός which I think could be read in Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* 848 :

διπλαῖν μερίμναιν δίδυμ' αἰάν' ὄρα κακά, κτλ.

H. G. VILJOEN.

## NOTES ON CATVLLVS.

THE completion of a critical text of Catullus, which Teubner expects soon to publish, furnishes a plausible excuse for offering a few observations on readings:

29. 20 Hunc gallie timet et britannie (brittanie O) **GORM** (*spatium solito maius post timet reliquit R*).

Catullus certainly wrote one poem (c. 4) in pure iambic trimeters. If this were not certain, there would not be so strong a reason to believe that c. 29 is in the same metre. But a mere quatrain (c. 52) alone represents the common, Archilochian, trimeters; and even if c. 4 were missing, the overwhelming number of pure iambs in c. 29 might compel the critic to the belief that vv. 3, 20, and 23 (which alone present difficulties, and of which the last two are certainly corrupt and must be in some way emended) should be so dealt with as to bring them into the fold of pure iambs. It has accordingly become incredible to me that c. 29 is not in pure iambic rhythm. Hence I must reject from the start all emendations that do not reduce these verses to this metrical form, as well as all that would present us with either Gaul or Britain in plural number (apparently historically impossible as early as the date of this poem, and certainly inconsistent with vv. 3, 4). Moreover *timere* in some form sounds right in v. 20, especially in contrast with *scit* of v. 19. With all necessary exclusions, then, there are still left a considerable number of ingenious guesses to choose from. It is partly because of the number that I venture to intrude my own, *timetque Gallia et timet Britannia*. I take it that *hunc* is in origin an interlinear gloss designed to furnish *timet* with a supposedly necessary object; in the next stage it displaced *timetque*, all the more easily because *timetque* appeared to repeat itself in *et timet*, which suffered inversion to supply the verb for *Gallia*. Or *hunc* may conceivably be a palaeographic corruption of *timet*. Instances of indubitable inversion of the order of words in the MSS. of Catullus, as well as of confusion of endings, are so common as not to need illustration. The collocation *que . . . et* is not suspicious. If I were to espouse any of the emendations made by others, it would be that of Friedrich, *Et hunc timentque Galliae et Britanniae*, but this itself emended to *Et hunc timetque* (or *timentque*) *Gallia et Britannia*. Of course Catullus has the plural *Syrias Britanniasque* in 45. 22, but there the meaning is clearly 'such lands as' those named.

In v. 3 I think *Māmurram* may safely be assumed, despite later usage. Even in 57. 2 (the only other place in Catullus where the name occurs) the first syllable may well be short.

29. 23 *Eone nomine urbis opulentissime* **GOR**.

Perhaps Schmidt's *urbis o putissimi* is what Catullus wrote; but the genitive (whether *urbis* or *orbis* be read) in this place, dependent upon some idea brought forward in the next verse, appears suspicious. If it can stand, I have yet sometimes wondered whether *putidissimi* were not the adjective that Catullus employed here. It is a peculiarly unsavoury word, and thus especially desirable to fling as a parting missile against these particular foes (cf. c. 57). But to read *urbis* (or *orbis*) *putidissimi* would add another to the few instances where critics have ascribed to Catullus the disregard of final -s in 'making position,' though c. 116. 8 *dabis* appears to be the only sure case of its sort. Another possibility of getting rid of the genitive and retaining *putidissimi* presents itself. Could *urbis* conceivably have been written as an explanatory gloss over (and after) *eone nomine*, while the initial *o-* (of *opulentissime* finally) was the common enough 'vocative sign' also inserted above? Thus Catullus might have written something like *eone nomine, heia putidissimi*. The chief trouble about juggling thus with interlinear glosses is that, by combination of the frequent stupidity of the original glossographers with the valiant courage of the modern emendators, almost any desired reading can be 'proved' in this fashion. But a number of places in **GOR** show beyond doubt that the complexion of their common Veronensian mother (or grandmother) was spotted with glosses, and that some of these have found a place in the *contextus*.

55. 9 *Auelte* (*corr. in aue te* **R**) *sic ipse flagitabam* **GOR**.

I venture to suggest *Te auulsum* for the impossible *Auelte* (of course supposing an inversion of order). *Flagitare* is used with a direct personal object by Plautus in the sense of summoning by a public crier, and the notion that Camerius has been carried off and is held in forcible concealment by the naughty girls is not at variance with the suggestion of v. 17 *tenent*.

62. 63 *Tertia patris pars . est . data tertia matri* **T** *Tercia pars patri data tertia matri* **GR** *Tercia pars patri est data tertia matri* **O**.

The authority of *Cod. Thuaneus* in c. 62 is justly recognized, and Weber has suggested *tertia patris pars, pars est data tertia matri*. But it appears to me more likely that Catullus used the same construction in both clauses to express the natural right, and I should therefore prefer *tertia patri pars, pars est data tertia matri*.

63. 77 *Leuumque* **GR** *lenumque* **O** *pectoris* **GOR**.

Of course *laeuumque pecoris hostem* may be right, Cybele loosing this one of two lions merely because the 'nigh' animal is regularly the first to be freed from the yoke in ancient usage as in modern. Or there may be some other, unrecognized, possibly ritual reason for the designation. But I wonder whether



Catullus did not write *lentumque*: the lion, after all, is tame and well-broken; he does not readily return to a wild and fierce condition of temper on being turned loose; his sluggish good-nature needs the goad of Cybele's adjurations.

I have also been suspicious of *pecoris hostem*, chiefly because of the lack of really satisfactory parallel expressions. The customary Greek epithets of the lion as the 'bull-slayer' are all more specific and vigorous, and I am loath to believe that Catullus, who uses such lively and sonorous compounds in this poem, could not, if he had desired, have selected or concocted an equally pungent epithet here. But I am unable to suggest a suitable emendation that is not an arbitrary substitution. I have a little conscience left about over-working the interlinear gloss.

I may perhaps be permitted here to express dissent from the common feeling of editors that, Attis having once become feminine, the MSS. must be emended to keep him so. I would retain the masculines *excitum* (GOR) in v. 42 and *ipse* (GOR) in v. 45 (with Ellis), as well as *tenerum* (GOR) in v. 88 and *ille* (GOR) in v. 89. When Attis awakes from sleep, he does not at first realize his condition, and the natural masculines point to the confusion of memory. With the return of full consciousness the feminines also return in the verse, till Cybele, being herself of the feminine sex, does not deign to admit her devotee to that description, but refers to him by masculine pronouns (vv. 78, 80); and the masculines are naturally continued on this divine authority during the lion's rounding up. But the poet in the concluding summary of a single simple line leaves the feminine *famula* for the final impression.

64. 16 Illa alia O Illa atque alia GR (*punctum sub atque add. G<sup>2</sup>?*)

Lachmann's conjecture *illa si qua alia* comes nearest of all emendations thus far put forth to what I imagine Catullus wrote here. But it is open to one grave objection. The parallels cited for it appear to have reference to other instances of the given event that have already occurred, and thus furnish a precedent. But this voyage of the Argo is the first ship-voyage that ever took place; this vision of the sea-nymphs is the first that has ever greeted mortal eyes; and I am inclined to believe that the poet means us to understand also that no such sight was ever seen afterward. Yet both *illa* and *alia* sound right, nor is it easy to determine just what happened to mutilate the archetype. The word *atque* may of course be only an intruded gloss in the attempt to give sense to *illa alia*; but I have been influenced by it in venturing to suggest as a possible reading *illa (ecquanam alia ?)*.

68. 116 Heb'2 nec O Hebe nec GR.

Ellis (even in his third edition), Schwabe, and, so far as I know, all editors except Baehrens have given up the puzzle offered by the peculiar abbreviation in O. Baehrens made a foolish guess. He failed to note the apostrophe after -b-, and set down Heb2 as ' = Hebia, ut q2 = quia,' though I think he could not have found q2 for *quia* anywhere in GOR. The apostrophe after -b- is certain,

and plainly stands for a final *-e*, as, for example, in 17. 4 *palud'* (= *palude*) **O** (and also in 14. 5 *mal'* [= male] **O**, though **GR** have *malis*). But the *nota* following is unique in **GOR**. I have no doubt that it stood in *Veronensis* (which was certainly written in minuscules), whence **O**, with characteristic faithfulness, copied it as accurately as possible, though doubtless failing to understand it. But the immediate common archetype of **GR** left it out altogether, because it was unintelligible, and of course *Hebe nec* makes good sense. But the *nota* is surely for *et*, while *nec* is most likely for *ne* (or perhaps *nei*), as in 68. 103 (*ne G nec OR*), and in several other places in these MSS. of Catullus. Fleischer long ago conjectured *Hebe et ne* for *Hebe nec*, and I am inclined to think he was right, though I would put it on the ground of **O**'s reading.

I have said that this *nota* is unique in **GOR**: but there is a trace yet remaining of its earlier occurrence in 64. 62, where the reading in **O** is *con* and in **GR** *et* (but apparently over an erasure of original *con*). The similarity of this *nota* for *et* to the inverted *c* (o) for *con* could alone account for the variant readings here. (**G**<sup>2</sup> has written al'92 above *isque* in 66.55.)

68. 118 tuum domitum **GOR**.

Nearly all the possible changes on *domitum*, *domitam*, *indomitum*, *indomitam* have been rung by emenders, and it may be superfluous to add another. But no one seems yet to have printed *te iam domitam*, which I suspect to be right. Catullus certainly cannot have represented Laodamia as a determined mantamer, but must rather have pictured her as yielding to the powerful sway of love. The feminine must be restored, and *te iam domitam* appears to me better than even the *te tum domitam* of Macnaghten or the *tum te domitam* of Friedrich.

68. 157 et qui principio nobis terram dedit aufert **GOR**.

After these many years I am still in doubt about the interpretation of vv. 155-158, which, however, it seems to me must surely be understood to be in close connection of reference with vv. 67-69. The *domina* of v. 68 is surely the *domina* of v. 156, and she cannot be Lesbia for two reasons: (1) it is at best very doubtful whether a writer as early as Catullus could use *domina* as a love-name, and (2) the mention of his own mistress (Lesbia, of course) is reached in proper climax in vv. 159, 160. The *domina* must be the mistress of the house which by the kindness of Allius, who secured the sympathetic co-operation of its chatelaine, was put at the disposition of the lovers as a meeting-place. Again, it is Allius in vv. 67-69 to whom Catullus owes everything; Allius *clausum lato patefecit limite campum*; how can it be anyone else who *principio nobis terram dedit* (v. 157)? Or how can another person altogether (as some critics have suggested) be later brought into the sphere of blessing, and all happiness be said to date from him (v. 158)? Yet Allius has already had his benediction in *et tu simul et tua vita* (v. 155), and the return to the mention of him in v. 157 is not easily managed. *Et qui*, however, appears perfectly natural following the conjunctions of vv. 155, 156, and followed by that of v. 159.

As regards v. 157 *aufert*, the emendation *audens* proposed by Friedrich strikes me as the best thus far advanced, though if it were not for palaeographical considerations, I should prefer *audax*. But I have thought of *absens* as a possibility. Palaeographically it is easy: *abfens* could readily become *abfert*, and *aufert* is the immediate correction. The necessary idea would then be that the house was that of Allius himself, who, being absent, turned it over to the control of the lovers, and gained for them the goodwill of its mistress, who may or may not have been the *tua uita* of v. 155.

67. 32sq.      Brixia Cygneae supposita speculae,  
Flauus quam molli percurrit flumine Melo.

Thus I am printing the verses, following the urgent judgment of A. Beltrami (*in Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* II. 1, Roma, 1905) and Hugo Magnus (*Philologus* LXVI., 1907, p. 296), who argue in defence of the entire trustworthiness of Capreolus, whose statements *inter alia* support the MS. readings *percurrit* (OGR) and *Melo* (melo O mello GR). But I nevertheless do not more than half trust Capreolus. He died in 1519, when MSS. of Catullus had been scattered abroad for more than a century, and antiquarianism was rife. Is it not quite possible that we have to do in his treatise (or in the authority which he followed) with a sophisticated revival of names due to nothing further back than the current MSS. of Catullus? One remembers the famous case of the Grampian Hills in Scotland. (The text of Capreolus and of certain other moderns concerned in the same tradition is sufficiently quoted by Ellis in the *Excursus* to c. 67 in the second edition of his *Commentary on Catullus*.)

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## OVIDIANA.

TRIST. I 7 5-8.

hoc tibi dissimula, senti tamen, optime, dici, 5  
in digito qui me fersque refersque tuo  
effigiemque meam fuluo complexus in auro  
cara relegati, q u a e potes, ora uides.

THIS is the way to say in Latin 'you see my face, though you cannot see the rest of me'. So *her.* X 53 'tua, *quæ* possum, pro te *uestigia* tango', 135 'non oculis sed, *qua* potes, aspice *mente*', *art.* III 633 'corpora si nequeunt, *quæ* possunt, *nomina* tangunt', *trist.* IV 2 57 'haec ego summotus, *qua* possum, *mente* uidebo', 3 17 sq. 'esse tui memorem . . . *quodque* potest, secum *nomen* habere tuum', 10 112 'tristia, *quo* possum, *carmine* fata leuo', *ex Pont.* IV 4 45 'absentem, *qua* possum, *mente* uidebo'.<sup>1</sup> But that is not what Ovid seeks to say: he means 'you see my face in such fashion as you can', not in the flesh but in counterfeit presentment; and Latin expresses this meaning otherwise. As Ovid here speaks of his own likeness on a ring, so in *ex Pont.* II 8 55 he speaks of the likenesses of Augustus Tiberius and Livia on a medal; and he says 'nos quoque uestra iuuat quod, *qua* licet, ora *uidemus*'. Arellius Fuscus in *Sen. suas.* 4 1 puts the same thought in the same way, 'cur non ab infantia rerum naturam deosque, *qua* licet, *uisimus*, cum pateant nobis sidera et interesse numinibus liceat?' In *her.* XIII 41 sq. '*qua* possum, squalore tuos imitata labores | dicar' many MSS have changed the adverb into *quo* agreeing with the substantive hard by; and similarly here the '*quæ* potes' of the text has come from 'q u a e potes'.

And so read three of Heinsius' MSS, and so, with his usual rightness of instinct, did Heinsius, though he might have found it hard to formulate his reason, for his faculty of analysis was slight. The lection was adopted by Burman and remained the vulgate till in 1837 it collided with the density of Merkel, who thought he disposed of it by citing *trist.* I 1 16 'contingam certe *quo* licet illa *pede*'. That is a play upon two senses of the word *pes*; it means 'non meo pede sed uersuum meorum pede siue metro'. To realise the futility of the parallel, try the experiment of substituting *qua* for *quo* in that verse. All sense will vanish, for *quo licet* is necessary to the definition of *pede*: if *quo* were removed, *pede* must be removed; if *qua* were substituted, it must be

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes *solus* is added, *met.* I 731 '*quos* II 10 47 'te tamen intueor *quo* solo *pectore* potuit *solos*, tollens ad sidera *uultus*', *ex Pont.* possum'.

substituted for *quo pede* and not for *quo*; and in fact 'contingam illa *quo licet pede*' is parallel, not to the 'uides cara relegati ora, *quae potes*' which Merkel was defending, but to the 'uides . . . ora, *qua potes*' which he was trying to set aside.

TRIST. II 275-280.

sic igitur carmen, recta si mente legatur, 275  
constabit nulli posse nocere meum.  
[at quasdam uitio. quicumque hoc concipit, errat  
et nimium scriptis arrogat ille meis.]  
ut tamen hoc fatear, ludi quoque semina praebent  
nequitiae: tolli tota theatra iube. 280

277 *uicio* L, *uitiat* HPV, *quaedam uitia* AG. The sense is 'but it may be thought that I corrupt a matron here and there': *uitio* is 1st pers. sing. pres. indic. of *uitiare*. 'Who could mistake it for anything else?' asks the reader. A modern editor of Ovid. He would mistake it for the dative or ablative of *uitium*; he would enclose the words *at quasdam uitio* between inverted commas and put them into the mouth of Ovid's adversary; and he would explain the construction by an ellipsis of *afficit* or of *uertisse meos libros arguunt*.

There is no reason to doubt that the couplet 277 sq. now stands as its author wrote it; but its author was not Ovid. Bentley's proposal to eject it was founded on the false readings current in his day; and when he adds 'quibus sublatis uide ut pulchre cohaerent reliqua', that, though a just observation, is not a compelling argument. But an argument which I find compelling is this: the point here raised,—that Ovid's *artes* may pervert individuals though not the whole class,—is a point which Ovid has met by anticipation. He has already said (257 sq.) 'quodcumque attigerit, *si qua est studiosa sinistri*, | ad uitium mores instruet inde suos' and (275 sq.) 'carmen, *recta si mente legatur*, | constabit *nulli* posse nocere meum': the virtuous will not be corrupted, the vicious will find corruption everywhere, in neither case is the poet a corrupter. The diction too is not above suspicion. *hoc concipit* may be defended by *met.* II 76-8 'forsitan et lucos illic urbesque deorum | concipias animo delubraque ditia donis | esse'; but the verb *arrogare* occurs neither in Ovid elsewhere nor in any poet except Horace, and the figurative use of *uitiare*, which properly means 'ravish' or 'seduce', is not Ovidian either. The distich was intruded, like 263 sq. 'persequar inferius, modo si licet ordine ferri, | posse nocere animis carminis omne genus', by a reader who could not follow Ovid's argument and flattered himself that he was making it clearer.

TRIST. III 2 23 sq.

ei mihi, quod totiens nostri pulsata sepulcri  
ianua sed nullo tempore aperta fuit.

The construction 'ei mihi, quod' occurs in Ovid half a dozen times, as at *trist.* I 6 29 'ei mihi, non magnas quod habent mea carmina uires'; the sense

is perfect, 'alas that death's door has never been opened to me though I have knocked at it so often'; the text stands thus in almost all the MSS; and thus it stood, I suppose, in every edition down to 1889.

But a little before that date Providence played the editors of Ovid a cruel trick: it put into their hands a 'best MS', and that was giving gunpowder to a child. In this passage L has *et* for *ei* and *quo* for *quod*. Not even the editors of Ovid were beguiled by the first of these corruptions, but the second they promptly accepted because they saw no reason why they should not: 'ei mihi, *quo* . . . fuit?' And how do they defend it? Mr Owen says 'cf. Ehwaldium, *Burs. nunt. annal.* XLIII p. 269'; thither we turn only to find Mr Ehwald saying 'cf. Vahlen, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.* 1883 S. 89'; and there at last we learn what is the matter, for Vahlen there cites four passages in which, if we take his word for it, *quo* means *cur*.

That *quo* means *cur* is an ambiguous proposition; for *cur*, like *why* in English, has more meanings than one. It means 'to what end', 'quo fine proposito', and it also means 'from what cause', 'qua causa efficiente'. The first of these senses is one which *quo*, originally 'whither', might be expected to acquire; and expectation is not disappointed: Verg. *buc.* VI 23 '*quo* uincola nectitis?', *Aen.* II 150 '*quo* molem hanc immanis equi statuere?', XI 735 '*quo* ferrum quidue haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?', XII 879 '*quo* uitam dedit aeternam?', Hor. *carm.* II 3 9-11 '*quo* pinus ingens albaque populus | umbram hospitalem consociare amant | ramis?', Prop. II 13 45 '*nam quo* tam dubiae seruetur spiritus horae?', Ovid. *met.* XIII 516 sq. '*quo* ferrea resto | quidue moror?'. But it would be strange if *quo* acquired so alien a sense as 'qua causa efficiente'; and it did not acquire it. Where are the examples? I know that '*quo* querimur flammas totum saeuisse per orbem?' is the reading of G at Manil. I 744; but L has *quod* and M has *quid*, a word which really does mean *cur*. Again at II 534 sq., in a sentence which I take to be interrogative, G has '*quo* mirer . . . nascentis . . . superari posse'; but L again gives *quod* and M *qd*, which the addition of a stroke corrects to *quid*. Apart from these I find one example only; and I find it, where you expect to find such things, in printed texts of Ovid: *amor.* III 7 19 sq.

a, pudet annorum! *quo* me iuuenemque uirumque  
nec iuuenem nec me sensit amica uirum?

That *quo* must mean 'from what cause' is here a minor wonder: the sentence is unconstruable: look at the two *me*'s! Riese put everything to rights by a proper punctuation:

a, pudet annorum! *quo* me iuuenemque uirumque?  
nec iuuenem nec me sensit amica uirum.

The construction is that of Val. Max. IX 13 ext. 2 '*quo* tam late patens imperium? *quo* tantum liberorum numerum?'

The reader should now be able to judge whether *quo* in *trist.* III 2 23 can mean, as it must if it is to be sense, '*what has brought it to pass that death is*



denied me though I have provoked it so often?'. If it is to be Latin it must mean 'to what purpose is it'; and then it will not be sense. That Ovid stood in peril of robbers and shipwreck was an incident of exile; that he escaped them was a perversity of chance: there is no place for the notion of purpose.

## TRIST. III 4 71 sq.

nec meus indicio latitantes uersus amicos  
protrahit: occulte, siquis amabit, amet.

*amabit* scripsi, *amauit* GHPV cum plerisque, *amabat* L cum paucis. When the best MS gives *amabat* and the four next best *amauit*, nothing so well accounts for the facts as the hypothesis that the archetype had *amabit*. But the bondservants of a best MS are not concerned to account for facts, and L's reading is their reading. The case is the same at Iuu. VI 660: P gives *praegustabit*, and so consequently do the editors, but most other MSS have *praegustaret*: this divergency is best explained by Markland's conjecture *praegustarit*, which is now found in cod. Monac. 14466 and is supported by the *manducauerit* of the ancient scholia, whose authority is higher than P's.

The imperfect *amabat* is bad sense, since it implies that the persons in question have ceased to love. I do not pretend that *amabit* is better sense than *amauit* (I 9 26 'cum quis in aduersis, siquid *amauit*, amat'), but certainly it is no less good, for *occulte amet* can refer only to those friends whose friendship continues in the future. But Merkel and Ehwald so little understand what the sense is that they join *occulte* with *amabat*.

## TRIST. III 8 11 sq.

stulte, quid haec frustra uotis puerilibus optas,  
quae non ulla tulit fertque feretque<sup>1</sup> dies?

'Fool, why idly and childishly yearning for what never was nor is nor will be?' The preceding context is this, 1-10: 'nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem consistere curru, . . . nunc ego Medae uellem frenare dracones, . . . nunc ego iactandas optarem sumere pennas | siue tuas, Perseu, Daedale, siue tuas, | ut tenera nostris cedente uolatibus aura | aspicerem patriae dulce repente solum | desertaeque domus uultus memoresque sodales | caraque praecipue coniugis ora meae'. The ensuing context is this, 13-16: 'si semel optandum est, Augusti numen adora | et, quem sensisti, rite precare deum. | ille tibi pennasque potest currusque uolucres | tradere. det redditum, protinus ales eris.' Nothing therefore can be clearer than the sense of 'haec . . . quae non ulla tulit fertque feretque dies': it signifies the flying cars of Triptolemus and Medea and the wings of Perseus and Daedalus. And to make assurance doubly sure we have the parallel of *amor.* III 6 13-18 'nunc ego quas habuit pinnas Danaeius heros, | terribili densum cum tulit angue caput, | nunc opto currum de quo Cerealia primum | semina uenerunt in rude missa solum.'|

<sup>1</sup> *refertque* most MSS, but the correction is recognised as certain.

prodigiosa loquor ueterum mendacia uatum: | nec tulit haec umquam nec feret ulla dies'. When I add that *tulit* in u. 12 is given by Ovid's best MSS and was printed by Ovid's best editor, the reader will surely wonder why it should be altered, and why, except for natural affinity, the inferior editors of our own day should print in its stead the *tibi* of the inferior MSS.

The cause appears to be Burman, for he, when *tulit* had been restored by Heinsius, expelled it again with this note: 'certe *tulit* aliquando dies ut uideret coniugem sodales etc., sed iam non fert nec feret dies'. Indeed? non *feret* dies ut uideat coniugem sodalesque? if Ovid says so, how can he look forward, as in 19 sq. of this very poem he does, to begging that very boon of Augustus? The future tense is alone enough to show that Burman was wrong in referring *haec* to the contents of the final clause 7-10; and from that mistake springs all the trouble. Merkel however, in accepting *tibi* from Burman, reveals another misunderstanding, which is his own: 'spectant ad illud (*tibi*) e sequentibus uerba quem sensisti (14). debilis esset ea ratio, si sibi opponerentur uanitas illa fabularum et sensus praesentioris numinis'. The opposition is not between 'uanitas fabularum' and *quem sensisti* but between 'uanitas fabularum' and *ille . . . pennas . . . potest . . . tradere* 15 sq.

TRIST. III 11 61 SQ.

crede mihi, si sit nobis collatus Vlixes,  
Neptunique minor, quam Iouis, ira fuit.

This couplet, at present unconstruable, would become grammatical and yield a just sense if the conjunction *que* were removed from the pentameter; and how to remove it without wrecking the metre is the problem to which critics have hitherto addressed themselves. The violent effort of the inferior MSS, *Neptuni minor est*, will give a wrong sense unless it is subjected to a still more violent punctuation, 'Neptuni *minor, est* quam Iouis, ira fuit'. Karl Schenkl's 'Neptuni *minor, a!*' is only fit for a schoolboy. Mr Owen has printed in three successive editions, spread over a space of 26 years, the distich 'crede mihi, si sit nobis collatus Vlixes, | Neptunine minor quam Iouis ira fuit?' Crede mihi, Owenine peior ceteris coniectura est? The only proposal worth considering was made in 1890 by Robinson Ellis (*Hermathena* vol. VII p. 212) and again in 1894 by Mr I. Hilberg (*Wortstellung im pent. des Ovid* p. 198), 'Neptuni *leuior*, quam Iouis, ira fuit'. The sense is right but the change not easy to explain: Mr Hilberg supposes that some reader wrote *minor* over *leuior*; but why?

I believe that all these shots are aimed at the wrong target; that the pentameter is sound and the hexameter will prove much more amenable to treatment. Our present text may easily have arisen from this:

si sit  
crede mihi, felix, nobis collatus, Vlixes,  
Neptunique minor, quam Iouis, ira fuit.

*si sit* is an elucidation, like the *o* sometimes written over vocatives to show that they are not nominatives, and warns the reader that the participle *collatus* is equivalent to the protasis of a conditional sentence. So it often is: Prop. I 5 7 'non est illa uagis similis *conlata* puellis' (but I 4 9 '*si* leuibus fuerit *collata* figuris'), Varr. l. L. IX 28 'non bos ad bouem *collatus* similis?' X 36 'unaquaeque ratio, *collata* cum altera, aut similis aut dissimilis', Mart. XI 72 1 sq. 'drauci . . . , *conlatus* cui Gallus est Priapus', Liu. XXIX 17 5 'quid illa sunt, *conlata* cum eis quae hodie patimur?' and especially XLV 43 2 '*minor* ipse imperator . . . Anicius cum Aemilio . . . *conlatus*': Ovid himself *fast.* III 825 sq. has 'licet, antiquo manibus *conlatus* Epeo, | sit prior'. Pliny *ep.* III 5 19 uses the two modes of speaking side by side, '*si comparer illi*, sum desidiosissimus' and 'quis . . . *collatus illi* non erubescat?' The counterpart of Ovid's *felix nobis collatus* occurs in Quint. *inst.* VI 2 22 'quam miser enim casus Andromachae, si, *comparata ei, felix* Polyxena'; and the same use of *felix* is found in *ex Pont.* I 2 29 'felicem Nioben' and *fast.* III 597 'Dido felix est dicta sorori'.

There is another verse of the *tristia* where an explanatory note has supplanted a word of the text: in III 13 1, 'quid enim fuit utile *gigni*', two of the best MSS, A and V, have *nobis* instead, which comes from *utile gigni*. The usual correction of *remed.* 492 involves the same assumption. All MSS of any authority have

quamuis infelix media torreberis Aetna,  
frigidior dominae fac uideare tuae.

It is plain that 'frigidior' needs an ablative of comparison, and Heinsius borrowed from a couple of copies the reading

frigidior <glacie> fac uideare tuae.

*dominae* must then have been an explanation added to *tuae*. This correction however is not certain. It is true that 'frigidior glacie' occurs at *her.* I 22, X 32, and *ex Pont.* III 4 33 sq.; but in the last of these three places another comparison is found beside it, '*niuibis* glacieque . . . *frigidiora*', and Ovid may well have written

frigidior dominae fac uideare *niue*.

He ends a pentameter with *niue* at *amor.* III 7 8 and *ex Pont.* II 5 38, and in the *remedia* and *artes* he so places *boue* (twice), *ope*, *pede* (twice, for I omit I 560), *dare*, *date*, *fuge*, *ego* (twice), *aquā* (three times), *togā*, and *forā*.

TRIST. III 14 47-50.

Threicio Scythicoque fere circumsonor ore  
et uideor Geticis scribere posse modis.  
crede mihi, timeo ne sint inmixta Latinis  
inque meis scriptis Pontica uerba legas.

50

The order of words in the last clause is a permissible equivalent for 'ne Pontica uerba sint inmixta Latinis inque meis scriptis (ea) legas'; but neither



the one nor the other is the diction of Ovid or of any Latin poet, even in exile among savages. A Latin would have inserted neither *sint* nor *que*, but would have said 'ne inmixta Latinis in meis scriptis Pontica uerba legas'. Where *sint* now stands there once stood an epithet of *uerba* which was joined with *Pontica* by *que*; and perhaps it is recoverable.

*Geticus* (48) is the adjective by which Ovid is accustomed to describe the immediate neighbourhood of Tomis. *Threicius* and *Scythicus* (47) describe the surrounding peoples. *Ponticus* (50) is a synonym of *Scythicus* (*Scythicus Pontus* III 4 46 and IV 1 45), and under *sint* (49) we may expect to find a synonym of *Threicius*.

Love of synecdoche impels Ovid, like other Latin poets, to use in a wide sense geographical terms whose proper meaning is narrow. When in speaking of his overland journey from Tempyra to Tomis at *ex Pont.* IV 5 35 he says 'sanguine *Bistonium* quod non tepefecerit ensem', he is not far from fact, for the Bistones were not far from Tempyra. But when *ib.* I 3 57-60 in describing his life at Tomis he says 'hostis adest dextra laeuaque a parte timendus, . . . altera *Bistonias* pars est sensura sarisas, | altera Sarmatica spicula missa manu', and when *ib.* I 2 108-10 in foreboding his death he says 'ossa nec a Scythica nostra premantur humo, | nec . . . *Bistonii* cineres ungula pulset equi', he is transferring the Bistones from the extreme south to the extreme north of Thrace. So again at *trist.* III 10 5 'Sauromatae cingunt, fera gens, Bessique Getaeque', IV 1 67 'uiuere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque', when he says *Bessi* he means simply *Thracas*, not the Bessi proper, who dwelt south of Haemus. Now adjacent to the Bessi dwelt the Sinti on the Strymon. Strab. p. 331 fr. 36 ὁ Στρυνμῶν ἐξ Ἀγριάνων . . . διὰ Μαίδων καὶ Σιντῶν εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ Βισαλτῶν καὶ Ὀδομάντων ἐκπίπτει, fr. 46 Σιντοὶ ἔθνος Θρακικόν, p. 549 Σίντιες . . . ἐκαλοῦντό τινες τῶν Θρακῶν, εἰτα Σιντοί, Arist. *mirab. ausc.* 115 τὴν τῶν Σιντῶν καὶ Μαίδων χώραν καλουμένην τῆς Θράκης. The name of this people seems to have been elsewhere mentioned by Ovid and again corrupted by his scribes. In an allusion to his journey across Thrace, *trist.* IV 1 21 sq., the best MSS have 'sola nec insidias *inter* nec militis ensem | nec mare nec uentos barbariamque timet', where Mr Ehwald following a suggestion of Iac. Gronovius has proposed '*Sinti* nec militis'; and this conjecture gains support from a very similar error in Liu. XLII 51 6 'ab Heraclea ex *intris* (*Sintiis* Grynaeus, *Sintis* Drakenborch)'.<sup>1</sup>

The adjective is regularly Σιντικός and the district is thence called ἡ Σιντική, but Stephanus Byzantius has Σιντία, πόλις Μακεδονίας πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ . . . λέγεται καὶ Σίντιοι καὶ Σίντιον τὸ οὐδέτερον; and though Aeschylus

<sup>1</sup> Ellis in *Hermath.* vol. VII pp. 191-3 absurdly confuses these Σιντοὶ with the Σινδοὶ dwelling in Asia on the eastern shore of the Euxine. There were other Σινδοὶ on the Hister, but apparently far inland, half way between the Euxine and the Adriatic, schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV 321 κατὰ δὲ τὸ τῶν Σινδῶν πεδὶον σχίζεται ὁ ποταμὸς Ἰστρος, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ῥεῖμα εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν

Εὐξείνιον πόντον εἰσβάλλει; and I only mention them in order to bring together a pair of ἄπαξ εἰρημένα which ought to merge in one: Apoll. Rhod. IV 320-2 οὐτ' ὅν Θρήϊξιν μυγάδες Σκύθαι, οὐδὲ Σίγυννοι, | οὐτ' ὅν Γραυκένιοι, οὐθ' οἱ περὶ Λαύριον ἦδη | Σινδοὶ ἐρημαῖον πεδὶον μέγα ναιετάοντες and Steph. Byz. Τραυχένιοι, ἔθνος περὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον, ὁμορον Σινδοῖς.

says *Μαιωτικός*, Virgil says *Maotius*. I suppose then that Ovid wrote what differs by one letter only from the MS text,

crede mihi, timeo ne S i n t i a mixta Latinis  
inque meis scriptis Pontica uerba legas.

*in meis scriptis ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, like *met. XII* 109 sq. 'Tenedonque *suoque* | Eetioneas inpleui *sanguine* Thebas'.

TRIST. V 2 23-27.

litora quot conchas, quot amoena rosaria flores  
quotue soporiferum grana papauer habet,  
silua feras quot alit, quot piscibus unda natatur, 25  
quot tenerum pennis aera pulsat auis,  
tot premor aduersis.

*amoena rosaria*, though printed by all editors, is written only in the vulgar MSS: the better class, AGHPV (for L is absent), have *amoenos hostia* (*postia* A) instead. Now there are indeed many places where the worse MSS give a true reading and the better MSS a false one; but in those places we can generally find a cause for the error. Here there is no explaining how *amoena rosaria* can be the origin of anything so different and so difficult as *amoenos hostia*; whereas *amoenos hostia* would be corrected without scruple by the interpolators to whom the inferior MSS owe their inferiority, and *amoena rosaria* may very well be their correction. What I propose is less a correction than an interpretation of the more authentic text:

quot amoenos O s t i a flores.

The neighbourhood of Ostia, which Minucius Felix 2 3 calls 'amoenissima ciuitas,' is still very gay with flowers in spring; and that this is no recent effort of Nature's we learn from a document of the 6th century, the anonymous *cosmographia* printed on pp. 71-103 of Riese's *geographi Latini minores*. There, p. 83 24-30, the island formed by the mouth of the Tiber is described in language as flowery as itself: 'insula uero, quam facit inter urbis portum et *Ostiam* ciuitatem, tantae uiriditatis *amoenitatisque* est, ut neque aestiuis mensibus neque hiemalibus pasturae admirabiles herbas dehabeat; ita autem uernali tempore *rosa uel ceteris floribus* adimpletur, ut pro nimietate sui odoris et *floris* insula ipsa libanus almae Veneris nuncupetur.' The *cosmographia* is edited by Riese from two MSS, one of the 8th and one of the 10th century: the latter, both in the passage just quoted and again at l. 22 of the same page, writes *Ostiam* as *hostiam*; and Ovid's MSS, none of them older than the 13th century, have misspelt the word in the same way. Indeed the error is found in much more ancient authorities, at Min. Fel. 2 3 in the Parisinus (saec. IX), at Liu. XXII 11 6 in the Puteaneus (saec. V).

It may perhaps be thought that in this series of comparisons the common nouns *litora*, *papauer*, *silua*, *unda*, *aera*, should not be varied by a proper name, *Ostia*. But see *trist. V* 1 31 sq. 'quot frutices *siluae*, quot flauas *Thybris* harenas, |

mollia quot *Martis* gramina *Campus* habet', 6 37-40 'quam multa madidae celantur harundine *fossae*, | florida quam multas *Hybla* tuetur apes, | quam multae gracili *terrena* sub *horrea* ferre | limite formicae grana reperta solent', *ex Pont.* II 7 25-8 '*Cinyphiae* *segetis* citius numerabis aristas | altaque quam multis floreat *Hybla* thymis, | et quot aues motis nitantur in *aere* pinnis | quotque natent pisces *aequore* certus eris.'

TRIST. V 8 1 sq.

non adeo cecidi, quamuis abiectus, ut infra  
te quoque sim, inferius quo nihil esse potest.

Lachmann at *Lucr.* I 159 remarked that three times in Ovid the last syllable of *nihil* is shown by metre to be long: *trist.* V 14 41 and *ex Pont.* III 1 113 'morte *nihil* opus est', *met.* VII 644 'in superis opus esse *nihil*. at in aedibus ingens'. He proposed to introduce a fourth example at *met.* X 520; but he might with better reason have cited and examined XIV 23 sq.,

nec medeare mihi sanesque haec uulnera mando;  
fineque nil opus est; partem ferat illa calor.

The attachment of *que* to *ē* is not Ovidian, and the conjunction itself is both unnecessary and undesirable: Heinsius quotes from some MSS the reading *fine nihil opus est*, and this has in its favour the 'morte nihil opus est' of the *tristia* and *ex Ponto*, where such variants as *morteque nil opus est*, *at nece nil opus est*, *nil opus est leto*, are found in the MSS.

Lachmann further implies in his note on Lucretius and states explicitly in *Kl. Schr.* II p. 59 that there is no place in Ovid where the last syllable of *nihil* is shown by metre to be short: denying that Ovid wrote the epistle of Hero, he says 'hic uersus, si Nasonis est, in XIX, 170, *Exiguum*, sed plus quam nihil, illud erat, aut spondeum aut Creticum habet ubi non debet, quoniam hic poëta aliter non dixit quam aut *nil* una syllaba aut *nihil* altera producta.' Merkel in his Ovid, vol. I p. x, pointed out that Lachmann had overlooked *trist.* V 8 2 above; and Lucian Mueller, *d. r. m.* p. 47, added an example overlooked by both, *trist.* IV 8 38:

mitius inmensus quo nihil orbis habet.

This latter verse contains nothing suspicious unless *nihil* itself is so; though the transposition

inmensus quo nil mitius orbis habet

might be supported by *trist.* V 2 38 '*Caesare nil ingens mitius orbis habet*' and 8 25 sq. '*nil ingens ad finem solis ab ortu | illo, cui paret, mitius orbis habet*', and the error of the MSS, if error it is, might be compared with that of the cod. Erfurtanus at *ex Pont.* I 5 78, '*res nihil ista iuuat*' for '*res iuuat ista nihil*'. But the couplet *trist.* V 8 1 sq., apart from its *nihil*, is suspicious on general grounds. The unity of the poem would gain by its removal and is impaired by its presence; for the vehement contempt of these two verses is not explained, nor even continued, in the sequel. What follows is quite in another



vein: 3 sqq. 'quae tibi res animos in me facit, improbe, curue | casibus insultas quos potes ipse pati, | nec mala te reddunt mitem placidumque iacenti | nostra, quibus possint illacrimare ferae?' Instead of anything like 'non adeo cecidi . . . ut infra te . . . sim' we come to 10 'imposito calcas quid mea fata pede?' Instead of disdainful affronts we read appeals to considerations of prudence and humanity. The expostulation is bitter, but its tone is not heated or contumelious. Verse 3 is well fitted to be the first of the poem; and verses 1 and 2 are such as might have been added by the obtuse reader who added so many to the Second book.

Mr Isidor Hilberg, by way of showing that 'Lachmann's Behauptung, Ovid gebrauche diese Silbe niemals als Kürze, widerspricht den Thatsachen', is good enough to cite on p. 745 of his *Wortstellung im pent. des Ovid* about a dozen such passages as *art.* II 280 'si *nihl* attuleris' and *fast.* VI 177 '*nihl* in pauone placebat'. He might easily have cited a dozen more: there are nine in the *tristia* alone. If Mr Hilberg means to learn prosody from the spelling of MSS, it will teach him terrible things. He will be dismayed to find that the last syllable of *nihil* is short even when the next word begins with a consonant. This verse, Verg. *buc.* VIII 103,

adgrediar; nihil ille deos, *nihl* carmina curat,

reposes on far surer testimony than any verse of Ovid, for it reposes on MP $\gamma$ ac: the only one of Ribbeck's MSS which has *nil* is *b*. None of Ovid's works is preserved in MSS so good as those which impute to Horace the verses 'Piplea dulcis *nihil* sine te mei', '*nihil* interest an pauper et infima'; 'ab dis plura feret: *nihil* cupientium'. Mr Hilberg's observations are not merely infantile: they are the observations of an infant who has not read Lachmann's note. From Lachmann's note he might have learnt that Lucretius, if the spelling of MSS is evidence, wrote not only 'praeterea *nihl* est' but '*nihl* semine egeret,' 'quorum *nihil* fieri', 'quia *nihil* est', and began hexameters with '*nihil* tamen' and '*nihil* igitur'.

Some editors even thrust *nihl* upon Ovid when the MSS do not. At *Ib.* 284 the MSS have

cui *nil* *rethi* profuit ara Iouis.

So FGHVX, *nil* *etherei* T, *nichil* *ethei* P. Most of those who adopt the correction *Hercei* have seized the opportunity of importing *nihil*. Yet the rhythm of *cui nil Hercei* is quite good and common: 26 'pro tam mansueto', 37 'et uer autumnus', etc.

TRIST V 13 1-6.

hanc tuus e Getico mittit tibi Naso salutem,  
mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest.  
aeger enim traxi contagia corpore mentis,  
libera tormento pars mihi nequa uacet,  
perque dies multos lateris cruciatibus uror,  
saeua quod inmodico frigore laesit hiemps.

On the ground that *Getico* is everywhere else an adjective Daniel Heinsius proposed

hanc tuus e *Getico* mittit tibi Naso salutem  
l i t o r e , si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest.

Gronovius *obs.* II c. 3 rejects the proposal: 'nam *Geticum* dixit, ut *Illyricum*, *Vindelicum*, *Noricum*, *Celticum* . . . dicebant'. But that is just what is not likely. Ovid uses no such form elsewhere, and these territorial names in *-icum* belong to the language of prose; they are not even found, where it would be less strange to find them, in the satirists. The *Illyricum* of Manil. IV 611 is an adjective in the MS text and was only turned into a substantive by the editors; and Claudian and Ausonius I do not count. On the other hand Ovid has '*Getico litore*' *trist.* III 12 4, '*Getici litoris*' I 10 14 and *ex Pont.* IV 4 8, '*litore ab Euxino* Nasonis epistula ueni' *trist.* V 4 1, 'haec mihi *Cimmerio* bis tertia ducitur aestas | *litore*' *ex Pont.* IV 10 1 sq., and the close parallels *ex Pont.* I 1 2 'hoc tibi *de Getico litore* mittit opus' and *trist.* V 1 sq. 'hunc quoque *de Getico*, nostri studiose, libellum | *litore* praemissis quattuor adde meis'. The substitution of *mittere* might be prompted by an untimely recollection of *ex Pont.* I 10 1 sq. 'Naso suo profugus *mittit tibi*, Flacce, *salutem*, | *mittere* rem si quis, qua caret ipse, potest'; and such a reminiscence has in fact caused the change of *si quisquam* *quo* to *rem si quis qua* or *si quis rem qua* in several of the inferior MSS. This sort of error is common in the *tristia* as elsewhere: thus at III 1 62, 'stricto barbarus ense pater', some MSS, among them one of the best, have *stat ferus* from *art.* I 74. There can be no difficulty in supplying the infinitive *mittere* from the preceding *mittit* when *claudere* is supplied from the following *clausit* in *art.* II 53 'aera non potuit Minos, alia omnia clausit'.

The emendation of u. 6, *saeva quodl immodico* for the *sed quod in immodico* or *sed quod non modico* of the MSS, is mentioned in his ed. of 1837 by Merkel, who ascribes it to Heinsius; in 1890 it was again proposed by Arthur Palmer, and in 1891, for the third time, by a German, to whom Mr Owen, after ignoring it in his first and second editions, now attributes it. But this conjecture does not destroy the continuity of a sentence nor deprive a transitive verb of its object; so Mr Owen still prefers his own conjecture *scilicet inmodico*, which does.

#### EX PONT. I 2 99-102.

di faciant igitur, quorum iustissimus ipse est,  
alma nihil maius Caesare terra ferat, 100  
utque diu sub eo sic sit sub Caesare terra,  
perque manus huius tradita gentis eat.

The rules of criticism are a very inadequate outfit for the practice of emendation, which is mainly an affair of natural aptitude and partly even of mere luck; but problems will now and then present themselves which the rules of criticism, with no aid from genius or fortune, are competent to solve. Such a problem is verse 101, and it ought therefore to have been solved by this time,

not molested by haphazard alterations of *diu* into *fuit* or *sub eo* into *saluo* or *sic sit sub Caesare terra* into *sit publica sarcina rerum*.

This verse not only suffers from the internal malady of making no sense, but also from an outward and visible disfigurement. Ovid cannot have meant to repeat the two words *Caesare terra* from the verse above, because the repetition serves no purpose; and he cannot have repeated them without meaning it, because the repetition could not be overlooked. Here then is the seat of the evil; and the field of enquiry can be further narrowed till all suspicion converges on the one word *terra*. First, it is useless: take it away, and neither grammar nor sense (or nonsense rather) is affected. Secondly, the presence of *Caesare* in both verses explains how *terra* got into the second, just as at *trist.* I 61 sq.

nec tantum *Clario* Lyde dilecta poetae  
nec tantum *Coo* Bittis amata suo est

the presence of *tantum* in both verses explains how it is that four of the five best MSS have *Clario* for *Coo* in the pentameter.

The injury, thus located by rule, can also be mended by rule. There is no room for the quackery which calls itself palaeographical emendation: to fill this gap,

utque diu sub eo sic sit sub Caesare – ∞  
perque manus huius tradita gentis eat,

ask yourself only what sense and what part of speech the pentameter suggests and the rest of the hexameter requires. The lost word is an adverb answering *diu*:

utque diu sub eo sic sit sub Caesare <semper>.

*ut* and *sic* are μέν and δέ: Ovid prays that earth may be ruled for many a year by Augustus himself and for all time by some one or other of his name, even as he augured in *trist.* IV 29 sq. 'qui Caesareo iuvenes sub nomine crescunt, | perpetuo terras ut domus illa regat.' This sense of the word *Caesar* has been missed by the commentators on Lucan at III 167 sq.

tristi spoliantur templa rapina  
pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Caesare Roma,

which they interpret as meaning that never till he robbed the treasury had C. Iulius been wealthier than the state: C. Iulius, whose debts and prodigality were a byword! What it does mean is that a spectacle grown familiar in Lucan's day, the spectacle of a Caesar richer than the commonwealth, was then witnessed for the first time.

It is the practice, or rather the instinct, of 'palaeographical emendators' to misrepresent scientific emendations; and their first impulse will be to describe this correction as a change of *terra* into *semper*, and to add a note of exclamation. Ignorant or unsuspecting readers, seeing no likeness between the two words, will then infer, as they are meant to infer, that the error was improbable and that the correction is violent. To spoil this game I subjoin a pair of examples. In Luc. V 192 the oldest MS, the Vienna palimpsest, instead of *tum maestus*, has *tum primum* from the *tum primum* of 190; and in Lucr. I 1023,



instead of *quaeque darent motus pepigere profecto* which Marullus restored from V 423, all MSS have *quaeque sagaci mente locarunt* from 1022. Again, *semper* has no more likeness to *ferto* than to *terra*; yet at *trist.* III 3 81, where the majority of good MSS have rightly *semper*, most MSS, including one of the best, have *ferto* in its place. There, as here, the error was due to no resemblance between word and word, but to a cause unconnected with palaeography.

## EX PONT. I 6 21-24.

nec breue nec tutum, peccati quae sit origo,  
scribere: tractari uulnera nostra timent.  
qualicumque modo mihi sint ea facta, rogare  
desine: non agites, siqua coire uelis.

Since *qualicumque* is not an interrogative word, the clause which it here introduces must be relative and must mean 'no matter how I got my wounds'; and then not only strict rule but Ovidian usage will require the indicative mood. Mr Ehwald *Krit. Beitr.* pp. 69 sq. accordingly changes *sint* to *sunt*. But interrogation, if forbidden by *qualicumque*, is demanded by *rogare*, which, now that the clause is relative, has neither a grammatical object nor an appropriate sense: the appropriate sense would be that of *tangere*, 'no matter how I got my wounds, let them alone'. I infer then that *sint* is right and *qualicumque* wrong. Now the best MS, the Hamburgensis A, three centuries older than the rest, has not *qualicumque* but *qualiacumque*, from which I elicit

qualia quod quomodo modo mihi sint ea facta, rogare  
desine:

'ask not the nature of those wounds nor how I got them'. A similarly ungrammatical *cumque* is corrected to *quoque* by Lucian Mueller at Priap. 68 31 and to *quaeque* by me at Lucr. VI 85 and Manil. II 745 in my note on the latter verse.

## EX PONT. II 2 31-36.

tuta petant alii: fortuna miserrima tuta est,  
nam timor euentus deterioris abest.  
qui rapitur  
porrigit spinas dura quae saxa  
accipitremque timens pennis trepidantibus ales 35  
audet ad humanos fessa uenire sinus.

Verses 33 sq. are shown thus mutilated in A; B and C omit them altogether, and C covers the traces of this omission by altering *accipitremque timens* in 35 to *accipitrem metuens*; the inferior MSS on the other hand offer various completions of the distich. Most of these are absurdly wide of the required sense,—that men will incur a lesser evil in the hope of escaping a greater; but two 13th century copies, Lips. and Erfurt., present the verses thus,

qui rapitur <spumante salo (*Lips.*, freto *Erf.*), sua brachia tendens>  
porrigit <ad> spinas duraque saxa <manus>.

In the pentameter the supplements are probably true, but were easy to find by guessing: in the hexameter they are certainly false. What decisively condemns them is not the superfluity of *sua*, nor even the uselessness of *bracchia tendens* beside *porrigit manus*, but the word *salo* or *freto*. When a man is drowning at sea, the only *spinae* to which he can stretch out his hands are those which grow on the backs of fishes: if he finds thorns to clutch at, he must be drowning in a river. And this is the picture drawn in a parallel passage, apparently an imitation, adduced by Korn from Sen. *ep.* 4 5: 'hoc cotidie meditare, ut possis aequo animo uitam relinquere, quam multi sic complectuntur et tenent, quomodo, qui aqua torrente rapiuntur, spinas et aspera'. Hence I conclude that the sense of what Ovid wrote was this:

qui rapitur <praeceps torrenti fluminis unda>  
porrigit ad spinas duraque saxa manus.

In u. 32 the two best MSS have *euentu*, which, though less natural than the genitive, may be defended as ablative of cause: 'euentus facit ut timor deterioris fortunae absit'. *trist.* I 9 16 'sunt tamen euentu uera fatenda meo' is not unlike.

## EX PONT. II 5 8-12

diceris exiliis indoluisse meis,  
missaque ab Euxino legeres cum carmina Ponto  
illa tuus iuuat qualiacumque fauor, 10  
optastique breuem salui mihi Caesaris iram,  
quod tamen<sup>1</sup> optari si sciat ipse sinat.

Early and late, conjectures have been showered on verse 11. For *salui* some inferior MSS offer *saluo*, others *fieri*; one scholar proposes *sancti*, another *statui*, a third *breui solui*; till anyone would think there really were something wrong. Yet all is well, and the conjectures are all aimed at the one word which must on no account be altered.

If *salui* is an obstacle, remove it, and mark the consequence. Ovid's friend will then have prayed that Caesar's anger against Ovid might be short; and this prayer contains not merely an ambiguity but a dangerous ambiguity. Even Virgil's innocent phrase 'tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum | concilia incertum est' did not escape malicious interpretation: Seru. *georg.* I 24 'male quidam culpant Vergilium, dicentes eum audivitate laudandicitum interitum Augusto optasse': and 'optasti breuem mihi Caesaris iram' is much more like high treason, for one way to shorten Caesar's anger is to shorten Caesar's life. This implication is excluded by the addition of *salui*, which is part of the prayer: 'optasti breuem mihi Caesaris iram, ita tamen ut ipse saluus esset'. The exile took the same precaution at *trist.* III 1 57 sq., where his book, arrived before the house of Augustus, is made to say 'quandocumque, precor, nostro placata parenti | isdem sub dominis aspiciare domus':

<sup>1</sup> Since *tamen* is a word so often misunderstood, sciat, tamen sinat', 'would permit, even if he I had better say that the construction is 'si knew'.

he does not wish to purchase pardon and recall at the price of the emperor's decease. The passage cited by Heinsius, *ex Pont.* II 3 97 sq. 'precabor | ut tibi sit saluo Caesare salua parens', though no parallel in point of sense, is similar in expression, for it is a way of saying 'ut et Caesar et parens tua salua sit'.

Perhaps we shall now be able to defend what is right and amend what is wrong in the MS tradition of *met.* XV 838, where the prophecy of Augustus' reign concludes with these words:

nec nisi cum senior similes aequauerit annos  
aetherias sedes cognataque sidera tanget.

Neither *similes* nor *aequauerit* has any sense, for there is nothing in the context to which the years of Augustus' life can either be likened or equalled. Heinsius, comparing *ex Pont.* II 8 41 sq. 'sic pater in Pylios, Cumaeos mater in annos | uiuant' and *trist.* V 5 61 sq. 'Caesar dis accessure, sed olim, | aequarint Pylios cum tua fata dies', altered *similes* to *Pylios*; and this conjecture, despite its violence, is adopted by the latest editors. But what then possessed the poet to add *senior*? If a man is to die as old as Nestor and outlive three generations of his fellows, what need to tell us that he will then be well stricken in years? Ovid added *senior* because he was using a phrase which without *senior* would have been ambiguous: *similes* has usurped the place of a dative, probably

nec nisi cum senior m e r i t i s aequauerit annos.

To foretell that Augustus will quit the earth only when his years are as many as his good deeds is not necessarily to foretell him a long life: the number of his good deeds may be matter of opinion, and if T. Labienus heard that prophecy and put faith in it he would expect Augustus to drop down dead on the spot. Ovid therefore takes care to preclude all suspicion of a double meaning. *meritis* differs in two letters only from *mesilis*, which differs from *similes* only in the order of letters: compare such changes as *met.* XIII 624 *patrem (patlem) templa*, XIV 233 *lami (sami) imas*.

EX PONT. II 6 19-24.

turpe erit in miseris ueteri tibi rebus amico  
auxilium nulla parte tulisse tuum.

20

turpe referre pedem nec passu stare tenaci,  
turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem:  
turpe sequi casum et fortunae accedere amicum  
et, nisi sit felix, esse negare suum.

So I punctuate, with a full stop after 20 and a colon after 22. Heinsius put full stops in both places, and then proposed, no wonder, to delete 23 sq.; Merkel ended both 20 and 22 with colons, which makes no difference and leaves 23 sq. no less intolerable. Korn placed a colon after the first distich, a full stop after the second, and deleted the third; and Guethling, rejecting the



deletion and yet accepting the punctuation, reduced the passage to the worst plight in which it has yet been seen.

What Guethling conceived I cannot guess; but it seems clear that the other editors repeat *erit tibi* from 19 with the *turpe*'s of 21 and 22 and 23, so that the three distichs form a series in which each member stands on an equal footing: then, to be sure, the third distich is flat after the second and futile after the first, and the *sum* of 24 ought to be *tuum*, which some MSS accordingly substitute.<sup>1</sup> With my punctuation the passage ought to interpret itself. *turpe* in 21 and the following verses is not *turpe tibi erit* but *turpe est*; verse 21 is to be introduced with *μὲν γάρ* and verse 23 with *δέ*. 'It will be shame to you if you do not help an old friend in his trouble; for, even as it is shame to retire in battle or to abandon a labouring ship, so is it shame to be led by luck, to transfer one's friendship to fortune, and to disown a comrade except he be prosperous'. The verses 21-24 are a general reflexion enforcing the personal monition of 19 sq.; and the distich 21 sq. is related to the distich 23 sq. as 'triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres, | arboribus uenti' to 'nobis Amaryllidos irae' in Verg. *buc.* III 80 sq. The subject of *sit* and *esse* in 24 is the other party whose existence is necessarily implied when the talk is of friendship: similarly *diligit* has no expressed subject in Cic. *de inu.* II 166 'amicitia (est) uoluntas erga aliquem rerum bonarum illius ipsius causa, quem *diligit*, cum eius pari uoluntate'.

EX PONT. II 7 1-4.

esse salutatum uult te mea littera primum  
a male pacatis, Attice, missa Getis.  
proxima subsequitur, quid agas, audire uoluntas,  
et si, quidquid agis, sit tibi cura mei.

For *uoluntas* in u. 3 the best MSS give *uoluptas*, which Heinsius brought into the text without a word of explanation, which Merkel, merely because of the MSS, retained, and which his followers accepted merely because of Merkel. Vahlen in 1881, *über die Anfänge der Heroiden des Ovid* p. 33 n. 1, justly observed 'uoluptas giebt keinen Sinn, uoluntas den besten'; but there he would have been wise to stop. When he went on to explain what he supposed this best of senses to be, he showed that he did not comprehend it: 'das erste ist mein Gruss (*salus*), das zweite mein Wunsch (*uoluntas*) zu erfahren, wie es dir geht und ob du meiner eingedenk bist'. That this is not the sense, and that no contrast exists between *salutatum* in the one verse and *uoluntas* in the other, Ovid has tried to make plain by mentioning his *uoluntas* in both verses; for *uult primum* is the same as *prima uoluntas est*, and *proxima subsequitur uoluntas* is the same as *secundo loco uult*. The contrast is between *te salutatum esse* and

<sup>1</sup> Mr Owen, who has Merkel's punctuation, says 'sed cf. I 3 2'. In another editor one would suppose this to be a slip of the pen for *trist.* I 5 2, which is less obviously irrelevant; but Mr Owen probably means what he has

written, *ex Pont.* I 3 2, 'qui miser est, ulli si suos esse potest', for he has similar notes elsewhere: at I 4 46 he refers to 5 28, at I 10 22 to *Ib.* 150 (152), at III 5 29 to 50, at IV 6 15 to *Liu.* XXII 4 4, and at *trist.* IV 1 10 to Verg. *georg.* IV 313.

*audire quid agas et si sit tibi cura mei*; and the sense is ‘primum te salutatum uolo, deinde uolo audire quid agas’.

## EX PONT. II 8 71-76.

aut ego me fallo nimiaque cupidine ludor

aut spes exilii commodioris adest.

nam minus et minus est facies in imagine tristis

uisaque sunt dictis adnuere ora meis.

uera precor fiant timidæ præsentia mentis,

75

iustaque quamuis est sit minor ira dei.

The proposal, now generally approved, of Mr Hilberg in his *Wortstellung im pent. des Ovid*, p. 4, to corrupt the last verse thus,

iustaque, quam uisa est, sit minor ira dei,

is one of those false conjectures which have more luck in the world than most of the true. The metre of the verse as it stands is said to be objectionable. Suppose that the objection is just: it is a pity if the metre cannot be mended without spoiling the sense.

Ovid has received from his friend Cotta a silver medal or other work of art representing Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia. He finds in the face of Augustus a trace of anger, 21 sq. ‘fallor, an irati mihi sunt in imagine uultus | toruaque nescioquid forma minantis habet?’; but now, 73 sq., the graven countenance seems to grow milder, ‘minus est facies in imagine tristis’ etc. Mr Hilberg will have it that the *quam uisa est* of his pentameter looks back to 21 sq. It cannot possibly look back to anything but the *uisa sunt adnuere ora* of the immediately preceding couplet 73 sq.; and it therefore gives a false sense: sense requires *sicut uisa est*, not *quam*. If *quam* is right, *uisa est* will be wrong, and sense will require *quam fuit*, as in III 1 98 ‘sit ut iratum, quam fuit ante, minus’.

And what fault has the metre that must thus be cured at the cost of the meaning? A second foot consisting of a single spondaic word, says Mr Hilberg. It is true that such verses as

hanc tibi cuius me magnus edebat amor

are not found between Catullus and Paulinus; but this is not such a verse, for *quamuis* is not a single word. Ordinarily it counts as one, and so does *internos*, as in Ovid. *art.* II 612 ‘sed sic *internos* ut latuisse uelint’; but *internos* likewise, being two words, is once treated as two, in Mart. *spect.* 18 6 ‘postquam *internos* est, plus feritatis habet’. *nequis* again, by the punctuation of the oldest inscriptions, is not two words but one, and accordingly the poets do not scruple to place it in the fifth foot of the hexameter and before the last iambus of the pentameter, as at Verg. *Aen.* II 606 ‘*nequa* parentis’, III 473 ‘*nequa* ferenti’, VIII 205 ‘*nequid* inausum’, Ovid. *trist.* V 13 4 ‘*nequa*

uacet';<sup>1</sup> but it is two words in Prop. IV 5 6 'utere, *nequid* cras libet ab ore dies'. *uis* and *libet* stand apart from their relative in Cat. agr. cult. 52 2 'quod genus *uis* propagabis', 158 2 'unum quod eorum *uis*', and Sall. Cat. 5 4 'cuius rei *libet* simulator'; and here in Ovid, under stress of metre, the compound remembers its composition and resolves itself into its components. The MSS even offer another example, *trist.* V 9 25 sq.

nunc quoque, *quamuis* est iam iussa quiescere, quin te  
nomet inuitum, uix mea Musa tenet.

Here however something is wrong, for *tenet* requires an object. Editors write *se quamuis est iussa* with Naugerius: in some respects there is more to be said for Mr Owen's suggestion that *tenet* has come from the end of 28 and has ousted *potest*; but it must be allowed that *iam* in the hexameter is devoid of force.

The fact that *postquam*, like *quamuis*, is two words renders just endurable the rhythm of *her.* XV 113

*postquam* se dolor inuenit, nec pectora plangi,

which otherwise would be harsher even than *ex Pont.* IV 9 99 'illi me, quia uelle uident, discedere malunt' and without a parallel in Ovid. But even so it is harsh, much beyond *her.* II 37 'perque tuum mihi iurasti', *amor.* III 1 25 'materia premis ingenium', 9 53 'cumque tuis sua iunxerunt'.

EX PONT. III 4 17-20

spectatum uates alii scripsere triumphum:

est aliquid memori uisa notare manu.

nos ea uix auidam uulgo captata per aurem

scripsimus, atque oculi fama fuere mei. — 20

20 *scripsimus* edd.; but most MSS, including C, the best here legible, have *uidimus*, and B, the best here extant, shows *scripsimus* written by the second hand in an erasure. *uidimus* is plainly corrupt, but it is not plainly nor even probably a corruption of *scripsimus*; while *scripsimus* may easily be a correction of *uidimus*, suggested by *scripsere* in 17. I propose *no uimus* instead. If the first two letters were lost in the margin, *uimus*, especially with *uisa* standing in 18, might be expanded into *uidimus*, just as *ueri* (*ui*) in *trist.* IV 1 66 has been expanded into *uidi*, or, to take an instance yet more similar, as *iu-uit* at the beginning of *Ib.* 488 has been changed in most MSS to *uidit*.

EX PONT. III 4 63 sq.

quid mirum, lectis exhausto floribus horto,

si duce non facta est digna corona suo?

Ovid has indited a poem on Tiberius' triumph of January A.D. 13, but

<sup>1</sup> So also *amor.* III 4 32 '*siqua* potest', *art.* III 466 '*siqua* negat', *rem.* 330 '*siqua* proba est'. There are in Ovid only two pentameters where a pair of monosyllables stands in this position,

*rem.* 306 '*non dat* habet' and *ex Pont.* I 1 14 '*non sit* amor'; to which the spurious epistles add two more, *her.* XVIII 170 '*qua sit* iter' and XX 62 '*par sit* opus'.



other poets, less remote from the scene, have forestalled him; they have stripped the garden of flowers and left him none from which to twine a worthy wreath. Instead of *duce . . . suo* Merkel in 1884 printed *uice . . . sua*: this made Messrs Owen and Ehwald suppose that something was amiss, and they both conjectured, as they naturally would, *duce . . . tuo*. 'Die Elegie ist an Rufinus gerichtet' says Mr Ehwald 'und handelt vom Triumph des Germanicus,'—he means Tiberius, but no matter,—'also ist zu schreiben: *quid mirum . . . si duce non facta est digna corona tuo? tuus dux* ist eben Germanicus'. A pretty description of Tiberius, or Germanicus either, to call him *dux Rufini*, the chief of one civilian! Let *suo* be as false as you will, *tuo* cannot be true; but why is *suo* false? Mr Ehwald, *Krit. Beitr.* p. 40, says that the text is impossible 'da *suo* absolut beziehungslos steht: denn der *dux suus* kann doch unmöglich durch den *lectis exhaustus floribus hortus* erklärt werden . . . der *hortus* ist . . . kein Besitzstück des *dux*, sondern gehört den Dichtern.' Of course it does: what belongs to the *dux* is the *corona*, and it is to *corona* that *suo* refers. Better critics than Mr Ehwald have before now proposed alterations just as false and needless, because they have not rightly conceived the nature and observed the usage of the Latin possessive pronoun. The relation which it signifies is a mutual relation, for which possession is often no appropriate name: two objects may so appertain to one another that *suus* can properly be attached to either of them. At *her.* XIV 67 we find 'lacrimae *sua* uerba sequuntur'; at XX 76 on the contrary 'liceat lacrimis addere uerba *suis*', whereupon most MSS substitute *meis* and one editor *sua*; but the tears suit the words just as the words suit the tears. Virgil *georg.* IV 190 has 'fessosque *sopor suus* occupat artus', Ovid *met.* VI 489 'placido dantur *sua corpora* somno'; sleep and the body are joined in a natural union and each is apportioned to the other. We speak in English of crime and its punishment, not of punishment and its crime; but Ovid *trist.* II 578 says 'ut par *delicto* sit mea poena *suo*'. We speak of the leek and its leaves, not of leaves and their leek; but Martial XI 52 6 says '*porris* fila resecta *suis*'. We speak of the face and its beard, not of the beard and its face; but Martial IX 76 4 says 'gaudebatque *suas* pingere barba *genas*'. So again he has I III 1 sq. 'cum tibi sit sophiae par fama et cura deorum, | ingenio pietas nec minor ipsa *suo*', i.e. to which it is linked; so Manilius IV 912 'trepidaeque *suo* sub *pectore* fibrae', the breast which is their seat, where Bentley conjectured *boum*; so Ovid *ex Pont.* III 9 22 'cumque *suo* crescens *pectore* feruet opus', the heart or brain from which the poem issues forth. Finally in *ex Pont.* III 8 14 'nulla premunt *ramos* pondere poma *suos*' some MSS and editors substitute *suo*; but *ramos suos* means the boughs where the fruit should rightly grow. And even so with III 4 64: 'the flowers are plucked and the garden rifled; what marvel then if I have twined no garland worthy of the victor for whose brows it was meant?'

## EX PONT. IV 16 31-34.

cum Varus Graccusque darent fera dicta tyrannis,  
 Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter,  
 Tityron antiquas Passerque rediret ad herbas,  
 aptaque uenanti Grattius arma daret, . . .

‘Verdorben und noch nicht geheilt ist *Pont. IV 16 33 Tityron antiquas passerque rediret ad herbas*’ says Teuffel’s *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 252 12 even in the last edition (1910); and so, even in the last edition (1911), says Schanz’s, § 314. Yet Riese emended the verse in 1874 by simply printing *passer* with a capital. The name is known to us from Varr. *r.r.* III 2 2 ‘M. Petronius Passer’, and this bearer of the name is as well known to us as Proculus in the line above, Numa in 10, Marius in 24, Lupus in 26, Turranius in 29, Fontanus in 35, or Capella in 36: he is mentioned only in this elegy, and so are they. He wrote bucolics, or, as Ovid puts it, he went back to Tityrus and the pastures of old, the traditional shepherd and the country life of a bygone age: Paul. Fest. p. 99 ‘antiquae et pastoralis uitae indicium’. The only difficulty is the order of the words; and this Riese failed to defend, because he did not analyse its complexity. His examples *ex Pont. III 6 48* and *Ib. 576* illustrate nothing but the postponement of the conjunction, and *trist. IV 5 31 sq.* ‘sic iuuenis similisque tibi sit natus et illum | moribus agnoscat quilibet esse tuum’ does not even illustrate this, for *que* and *et* must there answer one another like *τε* and *καί*.

The construction is ‘cum Passer rediret ad Tityron antiquasque herbas’. Propertius would have written

Tityron antiquasque rediret Passer ad herbas,

as he wrote ‘cum te iussit habere puellam cornua Iuno’ and ‘et grauiora rependit iniquis pensa quasillis’; but Ovid disliked this rhythm more than he disliked entanglements of words. Here he has resorted to no fewer than three artificial dislocations, each of them legitimate, but not perhaps elsewhere assembled in a single verse.

For the delay of the preposition, ‘Tityron antiquasque ad herbas’ for ‘ad Tityron antiquasque herbas’, see such examples as Verg. *Aen. V 512* ‘illa notos atque alta uolans in nubila fugit’, Ouid. *her. VI 107 sq.* ‘illa sibi Tanai Scythiaeque paludibus udae | quaerat et a ripa Phasidis usque uirum’, *met. VII 708* ‘pectore Procris erat, Procris mihi semper in ore’, Val. Fl. I 716 sq. ‘non Scythicas ferus ille domos nec ad ostia Ponti | tendit iter’, Sil. XIV 2 ‘Ortygiae pelagus Siculique ad litoris urbes’.

The postponement of the conjunction, ‘antiquas . . . que’, is commoner; but take for instance Hor. *carm. IV 2 21 sq.* ‘flebili sponsae iuuenemue raptum | plorat’, Ouid. *met. XIV 30* ‘poteras certeque’, *Ib. 451* ‘uulnera totque feras’, *fast. IV 609 sq.* ‘indoluit . . . maesta parens, longa uixque refecta mora est’, *ex Pont. II 1 5 sq.* serenum | uidi, fortunae uerba dedique meae’: one example, *ex Pont. III 6 48* ‘cesserat omne nouis consiliumque malis’, is

especially significant, since Ovid could have avoided the postponement if he had cared by writing 'consiliumque nouis cesserat omne malis'.

The construction 'Tityron antiquas *Passerque rediret* ad herbas' for '*Passer rediret* Tityron antiquasque ad herbas' or 'Tityron antiquasque ad herbas *Passer rediret*' is of the sort called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and typified by Hor. *carm.* II 19 32 'pedes tetigitque crura'. Most commonly it is the verb alone which is thus dislocated; but sometimes the subject, as in Lucr. V 214 'frondent atque omnia florent', Tib. I 6 81 sq. 'hanc animo gaudente uident iuuenumque cateruae | commemorant merito tot mala ferre senem', Ouid. *her.* II 70 'tauri mixtaque forma uiri', XVIII 32 'aut uidet aut acies nostra uidere putat', Sen. *H. f.* 1213 sq. 'in se coibunt saxaque in caelum expriment . . . mare'; and sometimes, as here, the verb with its subject or object or both: Hor. *carm.* I 11 4 'seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam', Manil. II 325 sq. 'summa prioris | et pars confertur subiuncti prima', V 479 'tacito gestu referetque affectibus orsa', Tib. I 2 39 sq. 'is sanguine natam, | is Venerem e rabido sentiet esse mari,' Ouid. *amor.* III 7 20 'nec iuuenem nec me sensit amica uirum'.

The combination of the construction ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the postponement of a conjunction is natural and simple enough in such an example as Tib. I 3 56 'Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari', where both the two words preceding the *que* are ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and pertain equally to *terra* and to *mari*. A complication is added if one word is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and the other is not, as may seem to be the case with our 'antiquas *Passerque*'. But this too has parallels: Tib. II 3 12 'nec cithara intonsae profueruntque comae', Ouid. *trist.* V 1 46 'barbariam rigidos effugiamque Getas', *ex Pont.* IV 9 42 'praetextam fascēs aspiciamque tuos'. And possibly, nay probably, *antiquas* itself is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Epithets are often thus placed: Verg. *catal.* 13 5 'ualent mihi ira et antiquus furor', Hor. *epist.* I 17 57 'nulla fides damnis uerisque doloribus adsit,' Ouid. *art.* II 108 'quod tibi non facies solaue forma dabit'; and this position is present, and softens the postponement of the conjunction, in Tib. II 5 22 'Ilion ardentē respiceretque deos' (ardentem Ilion ardentēque deos), 86 'dolia dum magni deficiantque lacus' (magna dolia), III sq. 'uersus mihi nullus | uerba potest iustos aut reperire pedes' (iusta uerba). Similarly Ovid may here be saying 'Passer rediret ad antiquum Tityron antiquasque herbas'.

Madvig *adu.* II p. 104 started the opinion, afterwards taken up by Bergk and by some editors of Ovid and historians of literature, that the hexameter as well as the pentameter refers to Grattius, and alludes to his Bucolics. The Bucolics of Grattius belong to the same category as his Georgics and his Aeneid. To blot out the name of a bucolic poet which is extant in Ovid's MSS, and to bestow his Bucolics on a poet who is not recorded to have written any, is robbery and murder in one.

A. E. HOUSMAN.



## NOTES ON LUCAN IX.

84-88—Cornelia reveals to Sextus the message left by Pompey for his sons :

tu pete bellorum casus et signa per orbem,  
 Sexte, paterna moue; namque haec mandata reliquit  
 Pompeius uobis in nostra condita cura :  
 ' Me cum fatalis leto damnauerit hora,  
 excipite, o nati, bellum ciuile. . . '

Hosius and others have suspected v. 87 on the ground that it is omitted by most of the good MSS. But the omission, as Weber saw, is due to the similar endings of vv. 86-87 (*cura-hora*). It is difficult to see how a student of Lucan could convince himself that any other person is the author of v. 87, which not only improves the passage, but is wholly in keeping with the gloomy fatalism of Pompey as represented by Lucan in many other places. Francken's objection that the emphatic *me* should have a pronoun contrasted with it may be sufficiently answered by a reference to vv. 396-398 of the same book; many instances from other authors could be added.

Several editors suspect v. 86. Their reasons are not very convincing. Some object to *in nostra condita cura*. Francken says that he could understand *nostro corde*, but *nostra cura* is meaningless to him. If he had removed his brackets and boldly read *nostro corde* it would have been easy to defend his action. The combination *mandata . . . condita* suggests that the author had in mind Cat. LXIV. 231 sq. *facito ut memori tibi condita corde | haec uigeant mandata; cura* might be due to the ocular error of a scribe, caused by *hora* at the end of the next line. (In that case, of course, the omission of v. 87 took place after the corruption of v. 86.) But it is not certain that this tempting idea ought to be accepted, for *in nostra condita cura* may surely mean 'stored in my keeping.' Lucan may even have thought of the message as having been put down in writing by Pompey and read or repeated from memory by Cornelia: with this idea v. 87 is particularly effective. In any case she speaks of the instructions as of Pompey's last will, left in her charge to be communicated to his heirs. This interpretation suits *mandata reliquit . . . uobis*, and incidentally it may comfort those who consider it awkward to have *uobis* dependent on

*mandata*: they are at liberty to take the pronoun with *reliquit*; 'Pompey left to you and your brother (*uobis*<sup>1</sup>) these instructions.'<sup>2</sup>

253-258—Now that Pompey is dead, Cato's soldiers wish to give themselves up to Caesar:

Actum Romanis fuerat de rebus, et omnis  
indiga seruitii feruebat litore plebes:  
erupere ducis sacro de pectore uoces:  
'ergo pari uoto gessistis bella iuuentus,  
tu quoque pro dominis, et Pompeiana fuisti,  
non Romana manus? . . .'

We have seen in the case of v. 87 how similarity of ending in two successive lines has caused one of the lines to be omitted in some MSS. Instances of like oscitancy on the part of scribes are only too frequent in Book IX. At vv. 201 sq. we find an interesting case. The scribe of *Z* had before him these words:

casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam  
fortuna domini clarum et uenerabile nomen.

After he had written *corruptaque* his eye slipped from *numquam* to *nomen*, with the result that he ended v. 201 with that word, omitting *numquam* . . . *uenerabile*. This error has produced nonsense, and no editor, of course, has bracketed the words used by *Z*, but unfortunately there are places where lines omitted by the scribes may be omitted by the editors without damaging the construction. The opportunities so presented have been thankfully received, and Lucan has thus been robbed of some of his most characteristic verses. When one comes to the passage which heads this note, one may be pardoned for losing patience with the editors. *Z* originally omitted v. 256 because its beginning, *ergo pari*, looked like the beginning of v. 255, *erupere*. No one, however, would dream of obelizing the line, for the passage is hardly intelligible without it. The same cannot be said of vv. 253, 254, which are omitted by most (not all) of the chief MSS., but it is very difficult to see how the latest editors could have had the heart to bracket them. One might almost stake one's life on their genuineness. The cause of their omission is fairly obvious. A sleepy scribe mistook v. 254, which begins with *indiga*, for v. 252, which he had just copied, and which begins with *insiluit*; he thus skipped vv. 253, 254 and copied 255 immediately after 252.

The point which Cato's speech emphasizes is that while Pompey was alive they were fighting on behalf of a master, albeit a better master than Caesar would be: Pompey is now dead, and the issue is clear: it is now Liberty *versus* Caesar. The Pompeian soldiers, however, when they talk of joining

<sup>1</sup> For this use of *nos* addressed to a single person see Postgate in *Hermathena*, XVIII. (1914), p. 94. Cf. *uestra*, Sen. *ad Heluiam*, I. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In v. 98 *mandata peregi* is used like *peregi iussa*, II. 338 sq. *Mandata* there refers to

Pompey's instructions to Cornelia to convey his message (the *mandata* of v. 85) to his sons. The repetition of the word in a different sense is awkward, but quite Latin.

Caesar, show that they must needs fight for a master (256 sq.)—they cannot endure freedom. Cf. 261 sq.:

quaerisque iugum ceruice uacanti,  
et nescis sine rege pati.

*Indiga seruitii* supplies such a trenchant commentary on the situation as could hardly have been invented by an interpolator. Francken feels compelled to admit that the expression is very like Lucan; indeed his suspicions of the bracketed lines seem to be rather half-hearted. His chief argument may be given in his own words: 'Condicionalis *fuera*t postulat paene pro apodosi omissa aliud quam *erupere* (= *ni erupisset*).' It is true that an expression of the type of *pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus uir fuisset* might have been expected, but when Lucan wishes to say, 'it was all over—had not one man intervened,' his way is different. Instead of a clause with *ni* or *nisi* he uses a second principal clause, beginning with a spondee and devoid of any adversative conjunction. Thus the impression of a sudden check in the progress of events is given in the strongest and most vivid manner. In Book VI. we are told of Pompey's assault on Caesar's wall. Success seemed to be accomplished, and the world was at Pompey's feet — no, not quite: one man, the centurion Scaeva, barred the way. See vv. 138 sqq.:

iam Pompeianae celsi super ardua ualli  
exierant aquilae, iam mundi iura patebant:  
quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto  
auferret Fortuna locum, uictoribus unus  
eripuit.

In the passage of Book IX. which we are considering the effect of this device is even finer. The sense of sublime mastery conveyed in the words *erupere ducis sacro de pectore uoces*, coming immediately after the bustling line expressing the petty fuss of mean souls, is one of the best things in Lucan.

283-290:

dixit, et omnes  
haud aliter medio reuocauit ab aequare puppes  
quam simul effetas linquunt examina ceras 285  
atque oblita faui non miscent nexibus alas,  
sed sibi quaeque uolat nec iam degustat amarum  
desidiosa thymum: Phrygii sonus increpat aeris,  
attonitae posuere fugam studiumque laboris  
floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem. 290

There are two questions of reading in v. 288. The authority of the MSS. is in favour of *increpat*, as against *increpet*, and there is no reason for rejecting *increpat*, which is specially effective in combination with the Perf. *posuere*. When we talk of the Perfect of Momentary Action, we must not forget that it



is a real Perfect. The meaning of *Phrygii . . . fugam* is properly, 'there comes the sound of Phrygian bronze, and in a trice they have stopped their flight.'

The reading *Phrygii* (cf. Verg. *G.* IV. 64, *Matris quate cymbala circum*) is supported by all good MSS., but *tum si* or *tunc si* is found as a correction in some, and Heinsius with fatal ingenuity conjectured *tunsi*, which is actually read by Francken. But it is obvious that this 'emendation' is founded on nothing more or less than a grammarian's comment! In those blessed days before the word 'Parataxis' was thrust down the throat of the young student, some commentator tried to explain matters to the ignorant by writing *tum si* over *Phrygii*, indicating that Lucan meant 'then if the sound of Phrygian bronze rings forth . . .' Similarly the codex Gemblacensis has a superscribed *si*, without *tum*. No one could have foretold that such an innocent comment would have such disastrous consequences.

297-299—Cato attacks Cyrene:

proximus in muros et moenia Cyrenarum  
est labor; exclusus nulla se uindicat ira,  
poenaeque de uictis sola est uicisse Catonem.

Various readings and interpretations have been adopted in the case of v. 299. Some would read *deuictis*. The question is not easy to decide, but the balance of probability seems to be in favour of *de uictis*, because the antithesis (*uictis—uicisse*) is then slightly improved, and especially because the intensive *deuictis* is not so suitable to the context, which emphasizes Cato's mercifulness.

A more important point, which affects the interpretation of the whole line, is the question whether we ought to read *Catoni* or *Catonem*. *Catoni* (which involves *de uictis*, unless we regard *deuictis* as Abl. Abs. with *eis*, i.e. *Cyrenis*, understood) is poorly supported by the MSS., but it is favoured by most editors. The meaning of the line is supposed to be 'but the only punishment that Cato inflicts on the conquered is his having conquered them.' We must, of course, lay emphasis on *Catoni*; Cato was different from other conquerors. One cannot deny that a line with such a meaning might have been written by Lucan. *Poenae est Catoni*, however, does not seem a very natural way of saying 'punishment is inflicted by Cato,' and the MSS. are decidedly in favour of *Catonem*, which Hosius retains. It seems to me that the reading supported by the MSS. gives a far richer meaning, a meaning typical of our author's cast of thought: 'but the only penalty suffered by the conquered is their having been conquered by Cato.' Francken objects that being conquered by Cato would be a glory, not a punishment, to the conquered. This view would not have been taken by the vanquished people, nor by Lucan himself, except perhaps in one of his most eccentric moods! But editors and commentators overlook the ethical meaning which Lucan attaches to the word *poena*. He uses it in various ways; one of the most striking is found later on in this book (v. 508). When Cato's soldiers were perishing for lack of water one of them at last detected a tiny trickle in the desert. With great difficulty he collected

a few drops, which he offered to his leader. Cato rebuked him for thinking his general so base as to drink while others thirsted, adding :

quanto poena tu dignior ista es,  
qui populo sitiente bibas !

These lines have been grievously misunderstood, so a word of explanation may not be out of place. The meaning is : 'How much worthier *you* are of such a punishment—to drink while the host is athirst.' There is a combination of two constructions with *dignior* : (1) the Abl. *poena ista*, (2) the Consecutive *qui*-clause. The unexpected *poena* (not *praemio*, as the soldier would doubtless have expected) is typical of Lucan's Cato. He who drinks while others thirst incurs the stigma of a weak character, and this is the worst punishment that can befall a man. The use of *poena* is similar in v. 299. The fact that the saintly Cato is their conqueror, the disgrace of having forced Cato to conquer them, is punishment enough for the people of Cyrenae, and Cato does not inflict any further punishment upon them. The sense of 'the unique Cato' is present in the line, with its emphatic ending, as in *uictrix causa deis placuit, sed uicta Catoni*, and elsewhere (e.g. IX. 555).

447-454—An African sandstorm :

nam litore sicco  
quam pelago Syrtis uiolentius excipit austrum,  
et terrae magis ille nocet. non montibus ortum  
aduersis frangit Libye scopulisque repulsum  
dissipat et liquidas e turbine soluit in auras,  
nec ruit in siluas annosaque robora torquens  
lassatur ; patet omne solum liberque meatu  
Aeoliam rabiem totis exercet habenis.

Few editors approve of *ortum*, which cannot be satisfactorily explained, whether taken as noun or as verb. Except when he uses the noun *ortus* (generally in the plural) to signify 'the East,' Lucan is always careful to define the meaning by attaching an epithet. In the present case such an epithet is wanting, and it is unnatural to supply *austri* ; when we consider, further, the lines immediately following, it will be clear that *ortum* cannot reasonably be explained as the Accusative of the noun. On the other hand, if we take it as Perfect Participle we foist on Lucan a senseless piece of padding such as no poet could be guilty of even at his worst. 'The wind after it had arisen'—as if anyone could suppose that the things mentioned could happen to the wind before it had arisen ! Some would explain the word as equivalent to the Present Participle, but that is hardly possible in the case of a verb like *orior* or *nascor*, and it would be idiotic here. We have, then, a clear case for emendation.

There is no need to retail all the conjectures which have been made. *Illum*, which is found in one respectable codex, and is adopted by Francken, is

obviously a mere guess, and is awkward, rather than effective, after *ille* in the same line. Oudendorp's *ictum* (noun)—*Libyes* simply creates fresh difficulty, and, like *illum*, can hardly be defended on palaeographical grounds. I am very much inclined to think that Lucan wrote *artans*: 'Libya does not hem it in and break its force with confronting mountains.' The sense thus obtained is excellent, and *artans*, besides giving us a construction which Lucan uses elsewhere in passages like the present (cf. 451 *infra*), furnishes a good contrast to *patet omne solum*, etc., v. 453. Lucan uses *artare* in at least six other places. The fact that the termination *-um* occurs at the end of both the preceding and the following line might easily have caused the termination of *artans* to be assimilated. The remainder of the corruption hardly requires illustration, but one may mention as examples from the MSS. of Lucan *ora* for *ara* in I. 549, VII. 165 (*ore* I. 446), and the frequent confusion of *Mars* and *mors* (*Mors*).

590-593—Cato in the desert:

somni parcissimus ipse est,  
ultimus haustor aquae. cum tandem fonte reperto  
indiga cogatur laticis certare iuuentus,  
stat, dum lixa bibat.

I have given above the reading of the Teubner text. For *cogatur* Z has *conatur*; many MSS. read *latices*; lastly, for *certare* (P) we find *potare* (VZC et in ras. M U) or *portare* (G). It is clear that if we read *cogatur* we cannot read *potare*. At first sight *certare* is attractive, as *potare* looks like an emendation, and *certare* may, for all we know, be the word which has been erased in M and U. On the other hand, *cogatur*—*certare* is by no means satisfactory. The text as given above is supposed to mean 'when at length a spring is found and the soldiers, lacking water, are forced to fight with one another' (i.e. for a place beside the spring). But it is almost impossible to believe that Lucan, who obviously took special pains with this paragraph, could have expressed himself in such a vague and jejune manner, and, apart from that, the sense given is very near nonsense. If the soldiers were madly scrambling and fighting to reach the water, there was no merit in Cato's standing inactive: he could not have got a drink if he had tried, and he might have been torn to pieces; he was merely taking the safest course. But the point must surely be that although he had the chance of being the first to drink he refrained from quenching his thirst until the others were satisfied. We must therefore seek another solution.

The MSS. are very decidedly in favour of *potare*, and the erasure in M and U may represent an original *portare*, a slip of the pen which is found also in G. I would suggest that Lucan wrote:

indiga *cunctatur*<sup>1</sup> laticis potare iuuentus . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Cunctetur* is also possible.



‘When at last a spring was found and the soldiers, though in sore need of water, hesitated to drink, he stood by till even the sutlers quenched their thirst.’

I venture to think that this reading gives a far fuller and more characteristic meaning than any of the others. *Indiga laticis* is no longer tame, and the picture is such as one would expect Lucan to draw. The devoted soldiers are sorely in need of refreshment; temptation to selfishness is strong, but they feel that their leader must take pride of place. The lines recall the incident related shortly before (vv. 498-510). We are told there that the soldiers’ throats were parched (500, 504), and it was hard not to grudge their leader the few drops that had been collected (504 sq.), but a soldier offered Cato the water. On that occasion Cato refused to drink while his men thirsted, and in the present case he waits till even his *lixæ* have drunk. *Lixa* is used collectively and opposed to *iuventus* (the fighting men). The addition of ‘even’ in the translation given above is, of course, warranted by many other passages in Latin poetry; examples in Lucan may be found at V. 494, VI. 185, VIII. 795.

If the suggestion just proposed be adopted, we must explain the reading *certare* in P as an emendation made to suit the corrupt reading *cogatur*, and *conatur* (Z) must be derived from a reading *contatur* = *cunctatur*.

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## IS DONATVS'S COMMENTARY ON VIRGIL LOST?

AELIVS DONATVS, the noted grammarian of the fourth century of our era, wrote commentaries on Terence and Virgil. The commentary on Terence has been preserved, though in a curiously heterogeneous form which thus far has defied analysis. The most plausible supposition is that our present text is a conflation of two commentaries, one by Donatus himself, and one by Euanthius, whose work was obviously utilized for part of the introductory note on comedy. But even if this is the right statement of the question, the question remains to be solved. The problem of the commentary on Virgil is, unfortunately, more simple, or at least is universally adjudged more simple. We have extant Donatus's life of Virgil, his dedicatory letter to Lucius Munatius, and his introductory remarks on Bucolic poetry. The commentary itself, save for scattered references in later grammarians, glossaries, and commentaries, has been lost.

Let us turn for the moment from Donatus to the chief source of our information about his commentary on Virgil—namely, Servius. Here another sphinx confronts us. In 1600 Pierre Daniel included in his edition of Virgil what he calls *Servii commentarii longe meliores et auctiores*. In certain manuscripts of the Servian commentary he had found numerous supplementary notes too valuable to be rejected as interpolations. He inferred, therefore, that the real and larger Servius was contained in these manuscripts, and that the text hitherto printed was merely an extract from the original commentary. This theory held the field for over two centuries and a half. Ribbeck, in the *Prolegomena* to his edition of Virgil,<sup>1</sup> did not dissent from it. But Thilo, in the Thilo-Hagen edition of Servius (1881), held that the real Servius is the briefer text (I will refer to it as *S*), while the *Scholia Danielis* (= *D*) are later editions, taken to be sure from the same valuable sources which Servius used. The combination, which we will call *DS*, was made, thinks Thilo, by some English or Irish scholar of the eighth century. Rival theories appeared, but Thilo's views were favoured by scholarly consensus, if that is determined by the approbation of Teuffel<sup>2</sup> and Schanz.<sup>3</sup> Of late, a new suggestion, or rather a modification of

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1866, pp. 104 sqq., 189 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, II, 1 (1899),

<sup>2</sup> *History of Roman Literature* (translated by Warr), Vol. II, (1892), pp. 87 sqq.

an old one,<sup>1</sup> has been proposed. Barwick,<sup>2</sup> emphasizing Thilo's proofs of the dissimilarity between *D* and *S*, seeks further to show that *D* no less than *S* has characteristic traits and unity of style. Therefore, the combination is not that of *S* with notes extracted by a later compiler from the numerous sources of *S*, but of *S* with another complete and independent commentary *D*, the author of which used the same sources as *S*. Moreover, Barwick argues, the commentary *D* preceded Servius; it may be placed chronologically between his work and that of Donatus. Its date would thus be about the third quarter of the fourth century. *DS*, the later compiler, who may well have lived in the British Isles, put together the two commentaries *S* and *D*.

Barwick's amendment strengthens Thilo's theory at a vulnerable point. For Thilo must assume that an insular scholar of the eighth century controlled such sources as Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Cassius Hemina, and various works of Greek literature, or that he used a goodly number of commentaries and treatises of the Early Empire which cited the authors in question. The latter supposition is most dubious, the former is unthinkable. If, however, the valuable array of information and citation added by the compiler was already amassed in a single commentary *D*, the union of the two elements *S* and *D* on a tolerably careful and consistent plan is not too difficult an achievement for the early Middle Ages.

There can be no doubt that *D*, as Barwick says, is the earlier of the two commentaries. It can be shown in instance after instance that *S* has merely excerpted, with minor changes in phrasing, enough of a note of *D* to serve his purpose. This point has been hidden from the modern reader owing to Thilo's absurd method of constructing the text, in which *DS* is often dislocated and dismembered to suit the editor's view of what the original text contained. Were the *Scholia Danielis* printed just as the manuscripts give them, the relation of *S* to *D* would be obvious at a glance. They are so printed, in general, by Daniel and later editors, who thought, naturally enough, that *S* was an extract. So it is, but not from a larger work by the same author. Proof of this fact, once more, we owe to Thilo's careful analysis.<sup>3</sup> To mention just one point of divergence, Servius, as his cross-references show, comments first on the *Aeneid* and then on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*; in *D* the order is *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*.

If *D*, then, precedes Servius and is the main source of Servius, who can

<sup>1</sup> Halfpap-Klotz, *Quaestiones Servianae*, 1882, p. 30. The same suspicion also occurred to Wessner. See Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, CXXXIX. (1908), p. 164: 'Wer alle diese Untersuchungen verfolgt, der gewinnt den Eindruck als wenn hinter mancherlei Werken, namentlich auch hinter gewissen Scholienmassen, ein Vergilkommentar stände, der infolge seiner Reichhaltigkeit eine gern und vielbenutzte Fundgrube bildete; ferner liegt der Gedanke nahe, dass in manchen Fällen, wo man jetzt Servius als Quelle ansieht, vielleicht eher jener Kommentar in

Frage gezogen werden müsste, dem dann eben Servius sehr viel entnommen hatte. Ich will mich mit dieser Bemerkung genügen und nur hinzufügen, dass es wohl lohnend und für einen erheblichen Teil der Scholienliteratur von Bedeutung sein möchte, diesen Dingen genauer nachzufolgen.'

<sup>2</sup> K. Barwick, *Zur Serviusfrage*, in *Philologus*, LXX. (1911), p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolegomena* to the Thilo-Hagen edition of Servius, I., pp. v sqq.



its author be? One answer tempts us, as we think of possibilities in the fourth century. It is tempting to think that Aelius Donatus's commentary on Virgil is not lost, but has been read unwittingly by several generations of scholars in the larger Servius or Daniel.<sup>1</sup> Servius, all agree, borrowed extensively from Donatus.<sup>2</sup> He cited him not infrequently. True, he cites him only to refute him, but does not this practice flourish to-day? Get your facts from the big book and demolish the author's minor judgments when you can. The interpretations attributed by Servius to Donatus are in the main trivial, but doubtless, as Nettleship<sup>3</sup> amongst others has declared, do not fairly represent the entire work of the earlier commentator. Now, Barwick points out that *D* is related to Donatus; indeed, he uses coincidences between *D* and Donatus's commentary on Terence to date *D* between Donatus and Servius.<sup>4</sup> But these coincidences may also be explained by supposing Donatus the author both of the commentary on Terence and of *D*.

The similarity of *D* to the commentary on Terence, an attractive clue that needs a careful following, prompts us to look about for other points of contact between *D* and what is known of Donatus's commentary on Virgil. Some information is given in the letter in which Donatus dedicates his work to Lucius Munatius. I will translate this brief but important document:

'Aelius<sup>5</sup> Donatus to Lucius Munatius, greeting,—

'I have examined the writings of almost all the scholars before me who were well versed in the works of Virgil, but in my earnest desire for brevity, of which I knew you to be fond, I have selected from the many matters only a few, preferring to incur the reader's righteous indignation for knowingly passing over numerous of the ancients' remarks rather than annoy him by filling my page with superfluities. You can listen, then, in this miscellany, to the pure voice of pristine authority. For though I have taken the opportunity here and there to insert my own explanations, I have wished, in fairness to those whose views I have rejected, to add their own words too. What, then, is the result? By briefly presenting these extracts from many sources, combined with my own interpretations, I can give the reader more pleasure, I believe, than he will derive from longer treatises elsewhere. Further, in selecting the best things from my authorities, I at once secure the interest of the reader by what

<sup>1</sup> I had reached the conclusions presented in this paper in 1914, before the revision of Teuffel by Kroll and Skutsch (Vol. III., 1913) was accessible to me. I naturally sympathize with the statement (p. 307) that 'man ist versucht, an Donats Vergilkommentar zu denken,' and that 'eine umfassende Prüfung dieser Frage wäre sehr erwünscht.' Wessner, apparently, is responsible for the article on Servius, and should be credited with the first statement of the proposition that I am here defending. He had not mentioned it in his review of Barwick's disserta-

tion (*De Iunio Filargio Vergilii interprete*, in *Commentationes philologicae Ienenses*, VIII., 1909, pp. 57 sqq.); see *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1910, coll. 848 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Teuffel, *op. cit.* (1913), p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Virgil*, edited by Conington and Nettleship, revised by Haverfield, I. (1898), p. xcii.

<sup>4</sup> *Philologus*, *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> FL in the one manuscript (Paris, 11308, s. IX.) in which this letter is found. For the text see Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, 1912, p. vii.

I select and save him from the tedium of what I have rejected. Do you, then, examine whether your prescriptions have been adequately fulfilled. For if, in the spirit of one of your remarks, the present work shows the way and lends a hand to the inexperienced teacher at the outset of his career, I have satisfied your behests; if not, do you ask of yourself what you miss in me. Farewell.'

From this introduction we may infer that Donatus's commentary on Virgil was a *Variorum* affair, with occasional judgments of his own. Was it necessarily brief? Perhaps we should so infer; yet possibly the author's protestation forestalls criticism of the undue length of his performance. I am reminded of Gislebertus Porretanus, who in the preface to his highly novel and dangerous commentary on Boethius's *Opuscula Sacra* expresses the fear that his arguments are so conventional that the reader will think them plagiarized from antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The commentary *D* compared with Servius is of course diffuse, but not more so, I believe, than Donatus's commentary on Terence. Nor is the letter to Munatius itself a model of conciseness. The other characteristics indicated by the writer fit *D* nicely; it is a *Variorum* commentary with valuable citation of ancient writers and expression of the compiler's own views. Another common feature may be deduced, not from the letter, but from the introduction on Bucolic poetry immediately following the life of Virgil. Donatus commented on the works of Virgil in the order *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*, differing from Servius, but agreeing, as we have seen, with *D*.

The argument thus far proves merely a similarity between Donatus and *D* in certain important regards. So far as my investigation has gone, no essential differences have come to light. We now may examine the external evidence.

First, as we have noticed, there are direct citations of Donatus in Servius. If our theory is correct, the interpretations ascribed by Servius to Donatus should be found in *D*. That is nowhere, I believe, the case. Sometimes the citation of Donatus occurs in a note entirely by *S*. Sometimes the note is supplemented with remarks by *D* immediately preceding or following. Nowhere does *D* itself contain the comment called Donatus's by *S*. At first thought this fact seems adverse to our hypothesis. On the other hand, I have detected no cases in which *D* expressly subscribes to a view contrary to that which *S* attributes to Donatus. Indeed, a moment's consideration will show that our theory is not routed yet. We must not forget the operations of the compiler *DS*. Imagine just how he proceeded. He had before him Servius and Donatus. Finding a note in Donatus criticized by Servius, he selected for his compilation, which on the whole was intelligently made, not the note of Donatus but that of Servius, since the latter contained both the original comment and a criticism of it. Naturally we should not expect this comment to reappear in

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXIV., 1247: 'Quae autem a nobis scripta sunt, bene exercitatis lectoribus non modo rationibus firma, uerum etiam

scripturis authenticis adeo consona esse uidentur, ut nostra non tam inuenta quam furta esse credantur.

the part of *D* that survives in the compilation. There is hence no evidence in the citations of Servius against the supposition that *D* represents not all, but nearly all, of the commentary of Donatus.

We may note further the striking phenomenon that in the very criticisms of Servius the supplementary phrases of *D* occasionally appear. For example, in *Aeneid* VII. 1, Virgil says that Aeneas's nurse Caieta was buried 'on our shores' (*litoribus nostris*). *S*, appropriately quoting *Georgics* II. 89 (*non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris*), takes *nostris* to mean *Italicis*, *non, ut Donatus ait, navigabilibus*—what certainly is a foolish remark. Now just before *navigabilibus* the manuscripts of *DS* have *in comparationem oceani*. We have refuted the view that *D* is a later set of additions from miscellaneous sources. We have agreed that the compiler is uniting Servius and a previous commentary *D*. We now must decide on the evidence of the present case, and others like it, whether this commentary is more naturally that of Donatus or that of some scholar writing after Donatus. The compiler *DS*, for the reasons just given, selects Servius's criticism rather than the comment in *D*. But he has also observed in *D* an additional phrase which, though not absolutely necessary, makes the meaning clearer. He therefore includes it. Would he have included it in what Servius expressly declares is Donatus's comment, had he not known that *D* was Donatus? Or would he have inserted in such a context a phrase of his own devising? It is far more natural to suppose that having both Servius and Donatus, he collated the two with some care, supplementing the former's criticisms of the latter from what he knew were Donatus's own words. Nor is this too scholarly a method to attribute to an editor of the early Middle Ages; the Berne Scholia descend from a distinctly elaborate compilation made by Adamnanus in the seventh century.

Of course, one may say, if the commentator proceeded thus intelligently, he might have inferred from Servius's direct statement and a comparison of the two notes that the other commentary at his disposal was that of Donatus; his manuscript of *D*, in this case, did not bear the name of Donatus in its title. We therefore need evidence apart from Servius of the existence of Donatus's commentary in the early Middle Ages. One bit of such evidence has long been accessible in Thilo.<sup>1</sup> In *Aeneid* I. 179, Virgil tells of the fire built by the shipwrecked Trojans, who then make ready to parch their grain and break it up with stones:

et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.

Servius remarks<sup>2</sup> that many find in this verse an instance of *hysteron proteron*, as they fail to see that the grain had been damaged by water, and hence had to be toasted first; he adds that grain is not infrequently warmed before grinding anyway. *D* supplements *S* with the comment that certain critics, to avoid a resort to *hysteron proteron*<sup>3</sup> understand that some men did the toasting and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I., p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Multi hysteron proteron putant, non respicientes superiora, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Quidam ne hysteron proteron sit alios torrere, alios frangere, accipiunt.



some the grinding. Now in one of the manuscripts of *DS*, the famous *Turonensis* of Virgil,<sup>1</sup> appears the scholium :

Donatus dicit histeroproteron esse id est ordinem permutatum—sed Servius dicit non esse.

The scholiast of the *Turonensis*, therefore, had access to both Donatus and Servius. He read the notes in both and contrasted them, just as Servius contrasts his own view with that of 'many' unnamed commentators. He must have included Donatus among these, though not mentioning him directly. As in the cases where he does mention him, the latter's view does not appear in the part of *D* which *DS* has combined with Servius. But in this case we may infer that a note approving *hysteron proteron* had preceded the present fragment of *D*. The remark that some commentators resorted to a certain explanation in order not to recognize *hysteron proteron* suggests that *hysteron proteron* had just been recommended. I may add that in other instances the commentator *D* shows a weakness for this rhetorical figure.<sup>2</sup> Tiberius Claudius Donatus, on the other hand, rejects it here.<sup>3</sup> I agree, then, with Thilo in regarding the note in the *Turonensis* as evidence of the existence of Donatus's commentary in the ninth century, and believe further that it tends to support our identification of Donatus with *D*.

There remain two pieces of external testimony in favour of our theory. One is furnished by *Codex Bernensis* 172, s. IX.-X. (formerly at Fleury). In this manuscript the works of Virgil are preceded by the so-called *Carmen Octavianum Caesaris* and other such matter, and are accompanied by the Berne Scholia for the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* *DS* for *Aeneid* III.-XII., and nothing at all for *Aeneid* I.-II. This peculiar condition, taken with similar evidence in the other manuscripts, suggests that the compilation *DS* was originally divided into five volumes, and that only volumes 3, 4, and 5 were accessible to the writer of that codex from which the *Floriacensis*, the *Turonensis*, and other manuscripts descend. Now the notes in the *Floriacensis* are headed by Donatus's *Vita Vergilii* and the *Vita* of the Berne Scholia. The latter *Vita*, of course, is integrally connected with the Berne Scholia found subsequently in the manuscript. It presumably follows that Donatus's *Vita* belongs with the remaining commentary in the manuscript—namely, that of *DS*. If Donatus wrote the life, he wrote the scholia too. Of course, an important work like the *Vita* might be copied separately with texts of Virgil, as is admittedly the case in some of our manuscripts. We need, however, a careful examination of all

<sup>1</sup> *Bernensis* 165, s. IX. On the basis of a considerable study of the books of Tours, I should date this manuscript nearer the beginning than the middle of the ninth century. It exhibits what I would call the Alcuinian variety of the script developed at St. Martin's. It is not at all impossible that Alcuin superintended a special edition of the works of Virgil.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. on *Aeneid* VIII. 593, 611; XI. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. H. Georgii (1905), I. 41: 'hic errant male interpretantes et disputando pessime suum confitentur errorem dicendo praeposterum ordinatione posuisse Vergilium cum prius sit frangere saxo hoc est molere postea uero torrere flammis quasi panem coquere.'

the manuscripts containing the *Vita*, to see if notes of *D* or *DS* may not be found among whatever scholia they possess.

The most important witness to our theory that I can invoke is the *Liber Glossarum*. This lexicon, which according to the current view<sup>1</sup> was compiled about 750 in Spain, derives a goodly number of its definitions either from *DS* or, more probably, from *D* itself. I have noticed three cases in which material is ascribed to Donatus that we find, with significant correspondences of phrasing, in *D* or *DS*. For example, *D* has on *Eclogues* VIII. 27, a note on *grypes*, of which Servius excerpted the following:

genus ferarum in hyperboreis nascitur montibus. Omni parte leones sunt, alis et facie aquilis similes, equis uehementer infestae, Apollini consecratae.

This information is utilized, with changes in the wording, by both Philargyrius<sup>2</sup> and the Berne Scholia.<sup>3</sup> They describe the gryphon, for instance, as *equis inimicissimus* or *semper equos adfectans*, thus giving the meaning of *equis uehementer infestae* in *DS*. But the *Liber Glossarum* says:

Grypes quadrupedes uolucres. Donatus ait grypides infestum equis apud Hyperboreos oriundum.

The author of the lexicon, then, cites here and elsewhere<sup>4</sup> as Donatus what we find in *D*. The burden of proof rests on those who think that *D* is not Donatus but an intermediate link between Donatus and Servius. Seeing no compelling argument for the assumption of such an intermediary, I conclude that we have in *D* the very work of Donatus.

My theory, I admit, is in the stage of suggestion and plausibility rather than of certainty. Before we can speak of proof, or, if absolute proof is impossible, before we can grant the theory precedence of its rivals in the field of plausible conjecture, we must subject Servius to a thorough scrutiny, showing that all the evidence there contained comports with the theory and that none contradicts it. We must examine with the same purpose, among other material, Donatus's Terentian commentary, Macrobius, the *Mythographi Vaticani*, Isidore of Seville, and the various grammarians and commentators who refer to either Donatus or Servius. The *Liber Glossarum*, not all of which is published, may well contain further clues. Part of this wide territory will be covered before long in a dissertation by a member of the Harvard Graduate School. Pending that and similar studies, we should at least not be too certain that Donatus's commentary on Virgil is lost. E. K. RAND.

<sup>1</sup> See Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1911, pp. 133 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Servius, edition Thilo-Hagen, III., 2, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, appar. criticus to l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Wessner in his review of Barwick (see above, p. 3, note 1) for the instance

here given. Wessner also cites *Georgics* I. 164. He is concerned here with supplementing Barwick's proof that Philargyrius used Donatus. The same material, which can be considerably increased, is still more valuable as evidence that *D* is identical with Donatus.

## LATIN VERB FORMS.

### A. CONTRACTED *V*—PERFECTS.

CLASS 1. *Audisti, audissem, audisse.*

These forms would result regularly from the longer forms, *audivisti*, etc. The *v* drops out between two like vowels, and these then contract immediately (cf. *divitis* > *ditis*). Both the long and the short forms are used, but the intervening forms *audiisti*, etc., do not occur in early Latin, just as *diitis* is not found. (This is the ordinary explanation,<sup>1</sup> and quite sufficient, but see under Class 5.)

Class 2. *Amasti, amassem, amasse; complesti, complessem, complesse; nosti, nossem, nosse.*

In these forms we find the anomalous changes *avi* > *a*, *evi* > *e*, *ovi* > *o* (cf. *clāvis*, *lēvis*, *prōvidus*, *prūdens*, < *prōvidens*). They are not the result of regular contractions, but are due to the analogy of the regularly shortened forms of Class 1, according to the proportions:

*audi-visti : audi-sti = ama-visti : ama-sti; comple-visti : comple-sti; no-visti : no-sti.*<sup>2</sup>

Class 3. *Complerunt, complexeram, complexerim, complevero.*

These forms, like those of Class 1, may have resulted regularly from the unshortened forms which have *e* before and after the *v*. (But see under Class 5.)

Class 4. *Amarunt, amaram, amaro, amarim; norunt, noram, noro, norim.*

These forms may be made on the analogy of the corresponding forms of *e* verbs, *complerunt*, etc., according to the proportion:

*comple-veram : comple-ram = ama-veram : ama-ram; no-veram : no-ram.*

But the verbs in *-evi* are neither a very large class, nor is there any one verb in it of such frequent occurrence as to have dominated the large class of verbs in *-avi*.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the same analogical process must inevitably have produced the change: *audivērunt* > *audīrunt*, etc., of which not a trace exists.<sup>4</sup> (See under Class 5.)

<sup>1</sup> Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, pp. 52, 280. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, pp. 176, 609 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Stolz and Sommer, *l.c.* For another theory, cf. Solmsen, *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 177 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Stolz, *l.c.*; Sommer, *l.c.*; and Stolz, *Kuhn's*

*Zeitschr.* 38, p. 428.

<sup>4</sup> *Sino* is the only verb that has such forms. This is a striking case of the exception proving the rule. For the occurrence of forms like *sirim* serves to emphasize the entire absence of forms like *audirim*. *Sirim* is probably an *s* aorist with rhotacism.



Class 5. *Audierunt, audieram, audiero, audierim.*

These forms cannot be derived phonetically from *audiverunt*, etc., nor can they come by analogy from *complerunt*, etc. For analogy could produce only the forms *audirunt, audiram*, etc., which are non-existent.

Attempts have been made accordingly to find a foundation for the forms in question in the similar forms of the verb *eo*, such as *ieram, iisti*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such attempts, however, invariably neglect the chronology and the frequency of the full (better, perhaps, 'lengthened') forms of *eo* (*iveram*, etc.), and of the shortened forms of *audio* with two *i*'s (*audiisti*, etc.). A closer investigation of these points discloses the fact that when the form *audieram* made its appearance there was no parallelism, probably, between the perfect forms of *eo* and *audio* striking enough, if there was any, to serve as a basis for analogical changes. So the proportion:

$$i-veram : i-eram = audi-veram : audi-eram$$

will not hold true, because the form *iveram* was extremely rare in early Latin, and in fact never became very common, and so was not likely to serve as a point of departure for analogy.<sup>2</sup>

Nor will the following proportion hold:

$$i-it : audi-it = i-eram : audi-eram,$$

because *audiit, audiimus, audiissem, audiisse* did not appear until after Terence.<sup>3</sup>

The following analogical proportion is possible:

$$isti : aud-isti = ieram : aud-ieram.$$

But the forms *abisti, abisse*, etc., although almost invariably given by the manuscripts of Plautus and Terence, are never required by the metre, while the forms with *-ii-* are often required and always possible.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore doubtful whether the form *isti* was of sufficiently frequent use in early Latin to influence other verbs by analogy. Besides, if the relation *isti : audisti* had the above effect, it could hardly have failed to produce simultaneously, or rather previously, as being nearer and more obvious, the relation *iisti : audiisti*?—a relation that was established later, when the formation of *audieram* next to *ieram* had formed a link between the two verbs.

We are driven then to seek an explanation elsewhere. The suggestion which I make below not only satisfactorily explains the forms in this class, but also those of Classes I, 3, 4, as being due to the same process.

<sup>1</sup> So Sommer, *l.c.*; Solmsen, *l.c.*; and Kuehner, *Lateinische Grammatik* 2 (index), p. 814.

<sup>2</sup> Engelbrecht, *Wiener Studien*, 1885, pp. 234 sqq.: In Terence 'ivi,' etc., does not occur at all; in Plautus only (and these rarely) the simplex and compounds with 'ex-' and 'amb-' (That is, where the operation of the Iambic Law did not prevent the formation of a long second syllable, as it did in *abiisti*.)

<sup>3</sup> The first instance is *C.I.L.* I., 38—PETIEI—

in an elegiac couplet in honour of the Scipio who was praetor in a.u.c. 615. The absence of *audiit* in Plautus and Terence is especially significant, as it makes a convenient close for iambic and catalectic trochaic verses.

<sup>4</sup> Engelbrecht, *l.c.*, shows that the MSS. are very unreliable in this respect, often giving two *i*'s where a form is undoubtedly present tense and one *i* where the metre requires two.

In Latin there was a much used aorist of  $\sqrt{bhū}$  in the form  $*fūm$ ,  $*fūs$ ,  $*fūt$ ; Greek  $\epsilon\phi\bar{u}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\phi\bar{u}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\phi\bar{u}$ . This aorist root was given perfect endings (cf. *vidi, feci*). Thus we have  $*fū-ai > *fūi$  (Ennius, *Ann.* 431 M, *fūimus*). Then, before endings beginning with a vowel, a transitional *v* crept in, and there was the form in rapid speech  $*fūvi$  (cf. *C.I.L.*, I., 1051, FVVIT). Then by wrong division and analogy we have the proportion :

$$\begin{aligned} *fū- : *fū-vi &= ama- : ama-vi \\ &= comple- : comple-vi \\ &= no- : no-vi \\ &= audi- : audi-vi. \end{aligned}$$

This is Sommer's explanation of the origin of *v* perfects.<sup>1</sup>

Now this *v* sound in  $*fuvi$  must have been fluctuating, as the fact that it disappeared again later shows, so that there was a carefully uttered  $*fūeram$  beside a more careless  $*fūveram$ . The verb then continued its influence on the *v* perfects, which it had itself brought into being, by causing them to have this same fluctuating *v*, and we have the proportions :

$$\begin{aligned} *fū-veram : *fū-eram &= ama-veram : *ama-eram > amaram \\ &= comple-veram : *comple-eram > compleram \\ &= no-veram : *no-eram > noram \\ &= audi-veram : audī-eram > audieram \end{aligned}$$

and also :

$$*fū-visti : *fū-isti = audi-visti : *audī-isti > audisti. \text{ (See Class I.)}$$

I should say that the right-hand ratios do not have to stand or fall with the correctness of the assumed forms of *fui*. The ratio X : Y would do as well on the left side. What I mean is that some analogical force was applied in the manner shown to all the verbs *simultaneously*, forcing the *v* out and leaving the variously interacting vowels in juxtaposition.

The change from  $*amaeram$  to *amaram*, etc., is regular in Latin (cf.  $*ama-j-es > amas$ ,  $*pro-emo > promo$ , etc.)—*audieram* is not a starred form, but is found in Terence, *Phorm.* 573. The long *i* was regularly shortened before a following vowel.

Class 6. *audiisti*, etc.

As I have shown under Class 5, these forms are rare and later than Terence, and were probably made after *audieram*, according to the proportion :

$$i-eram : audi-eram = i-isti : audi-isti.$$

<sup>1</sup> *l.c.*, p. 606.

## B. SYNCOPATED PERFECTS.

Class 1. *dixti*, *dixe*, *duxti*, etc.

In these forms the present stem is easily recognizable. In my opinion they are made on the analogy of the contracted *v* perfects according to the proportion :

$$ama- : ama-sti = dic- : dic-sti > dixti.$$

Class 2. *misti*, *iusti*, etc.

These forms probably follow *dixti* :

$$dix-i : dix-ti = mis-i : mis-ti.$$

The syncopated forms are found only in *-si* perfects, and did not become permanently fixed in the language. The reason why they are not found in other perfects may be that there was a passing prejudice against the accumulation of *s* sounds in these forms,<sup>1</sup> and that the analogy of *amasti* offered the most natural remedy.

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<sup>1</sup> Sommer, *l.c.*, p. 617.



## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**American Journal of Philology.** XXXVI. 4. 1915.

Abby Leach, *Fatalism of the Greeks*. The current opinion that the Greeks were fatalists is a perversion of the truth, though fate and fortune do play a part in Greek literature and life. The attitude of various writers to the question is examined and illustrated by quotation. R. B. Steele, *Q. Curtius Rufus*. A study of parallelisms in Curtius to other Latin writers (Livy, Vergil, Horace, Velleius, Valerius Maximus, Lucan, Seneca, Pliny *N. H.*, Tacitus, Pompeius Trogus and Justin, Orosius) with a view to determine his date. Curtius certainly wrote later than the age of Augustus and probably later than the reign of Claudius. The first years of Alexander Severus fit the indications best. A. C. Johnson, *Studies in the Financial Administration of Athens*. The history of the administration of finance is traced from 307 to 191 B.C., and its control by a minister (ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει) or a board (οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει) respectively is seen to be connected with constitutional changes, according as the government was oligarchical or despotic or on the other hand democratical. In *Indiculus Syntacticus* B. L. Gildersleeve gives an alphabetical index of his contributions to Syntax as published in the thirty-six volumes of the *A. J. P.*

**Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.** 1916.

Feb. 12. E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (P. Jahn). The reviewer suggests that Cic.'s words (*Brut.* 76) which, if *relinquo* there means 'pass over,' seem to be inconsistent with the fragments of Ann. VII., may possibly be interpreted 'would have allowed that first Punic war still to count as the fiercest war.' He calls attention to the order of the words '*primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset*' and compares such phrases as '*in medio relinquere*' and Tusc. 3, 42 '*quid haberent, quod in bonis relinquerent*.'—*Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*. XII. (Anthes). Throws light not only on Carnuntum but on Roman camps in general.

Feb. 19. F. Noack, *Σκηνή τραγική*. Eine Studie über die szenischen Anlagen auf der Orchestra des Aischylos und der anderen Tragiker (Wecklein). F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Gelzer). Supplements the ordinary Lexicon.

Feb. 26. C. P. Gunning, *De sophistis Graeciae praeceptoribus* (Nestle). Criticizes the view expressed in H. Gomperz's 'Sophistik und Rhetorik.' G. Rauschen, *Florilegium Patristicum, digessit vertit adnotavit G. R. Fasc. X.: Tertulliani de paenitentia et de pudicitia recensio noua* (Bitschofsky). E. Krüger and D. Krencker, *Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung des sog. römischen Kaiserpalastes in Trier* (Anthes). K. P. Schulze contributes to this and two following numbers some notes on Horace.

March 4. W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*. 3 ed. (Rehm). Long review pointing out many faults.

March 11. F. Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Bainariae Romanae* ed. F. V. (Haug). Carefully edited, with valuable Indices. F. Lübkers, *Reallexicon des klassischen Altertums*. 8 ed. by J. Geffcken und E. Ziebarth (Pohlenz). A useful book in one vol. of 1152 pp., intended to give the most necessary information, with references to fuller dis-

cussions of each subject. A new book rather than a new edition. W. H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien*. Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft (Blümner). Not less interesting than R.'s earlier studies.

March 18. C. Robert, *Oidipus*. Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffes in Altertum (Bucherer).

### Classical Philology. II. 1. 1916.

C. H. Moore, Τύχη προλογίζουσα and the Identification of the Speaker of the Prologue. Starting from a comic fragment in which Τύχη is introduced as speaker of the prologue, without being brought into any real connexion with the play, the writer traces the use of the prologue through Greek and Latin drama and its gradual detachment from the business of the play. E. T. Sage, *Petronius, Poggio and John of Salisbury*. Criticizes A. C. Clark's view that the 'particula Petronii' which Poggio sent to Niccoli from Britain in 1423 was the *Cena Trimalchionis*. The 'particula' cannot be identified with certainty. John of Salisbury knew all parts of Petronius; but it is not certain that he had a MS. The *Cena* may have been found at Cologne by Poggio in a MS. similar to A (the Traguriensis) in contents and form. B (Bern. Lit. 357) probably came from Fleury. A. E. R. Boak, *The Magistri of Campania and Delos*. These were *magistri fanorum* or supervisors of the shrines and cults of certain divinities and not presidents of religious collegia. E. K. Rand, *The New Critical Edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses*. A detailed criticism of Magnus' recent edition. B. L. Ullman notes that in choosing names for his characters Plautus is less 'Menandrian' than Terence. R. H. Tanner, *The Δραπέτιδες of Cratinus and the Eleusinian Tax Decree*. An accumulation of proofs that the decree was passed in the spring of 443 and the play performed in the following spring. Among Notes and Discussions Keith Preston suggests that in Petronius 69. 5 'harundinibus quassis' should be 'h. cassis (= canis),' that in 57. 4 'numquid pater fetum emit lamna?' the allusion is to an *admissarius*, and that in 127. 5 'quemadmodum ego te uolo' uolo is a strengthened *amo*. A. R. Anderson would take the gen. *uiai* in Ennius *Ann.* 203 as a 'Greek' ablative, and in Sextus Empiricus πρὸς μουσικούς 21 P. Shorey reads ἀλλ' ἦ (for ἡ) περισπαστικήν.

### The Classical Weekly (New York).

Feb. 12. *The Cambridge Medieval History*: Vol. I. (J. F. Ferguson). 'The volume maintains a high level of excellence. Some chapters stand out, however, as the work of great scholars—those by Reid, Gwatkin, Butler, Haverfield, Vinogradoff, and Peisker especially.'

Feb. 19. This number includes a full discussion by A. R. Wightman of Caes. B. G. IV. 28. 3 and of Dr. Rice Holmes's interpretation of the passage in his *Ancient Britain* and in his annotated edition of B. G. pp. 442-6.

March 4. J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (M. W. Humphreys). The reviewer gives a summary of the book but is unwilling 'for the present at least, to assume a positive attitude.'

March 18. Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (A. C. Johnson). 'Occasionally the writer turns a blind eye at Roman aggression, yet his keen analyses of the politics which led to the various steps in expansion are more often convincing than not.'

March 25. G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (W. L. Westermann). 'He has been able to place the development of the auxiliary service in the framework of the Empire so that the essay, though necessarily technical and confined in scope, has distinct touches of universal historical interest.' H. Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (R. G. Kent). 'This influence . . . has already received full recognition in the matter of case and personal endings.'

In the history of suffixes it is not so well recognized; as a factor in the phonetics of roots it has had but a tithe of the respect which it deserves. G. has shown what possibilities lie in it.'

**Deutsche Literaturzeitung.** 1915.

Nov. 27. H. Ringeltaube, *Quaestiones ad veterum philosophorum de affectibus doctrinam pertinentes* (Philipsson). Valuable.

Dec. 4. A. Jacobus, *Plato und der Sensualismus* (Gomperz). The 'new results' are based on misunderstandings.

Dec. 11. H. Gomperz, *Die Lebensauffassung der griechischen Philosophen und das Ideal der inneren Freiheit* (Busse). Will make a deep impression on all readers. C. Zander, *Eurythmia*. II. Numeri latini aetas integra. III. Eurythmia Ciceronis (Bögel). Receives some praise.

Dec. 18. F. Andres, *Die Engellehre der gr. Apologeten des IIten Jahrhunderts* (Heinisch). Ingenious and industrious. W. Meyer, *Die Preces der mozarabischen Liturgie* (Werner).

Jan. 1. M. Valetton, *De Iliadis fontibus et compositione* (Stürmer). The author has failed in his object.

Jan. 8. W. H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien* (Nilsson).

Jan. 15. P. Natorp, *Über Platons Ideenlehre* (Höffmann). The critic refers to his own researches. G. Arndt, *Emendationes Epicureae* (Nestle). The conjectures are not arbitrary and show deep thought. A. Kochelsky, *Das Leben und die Lehre Epikurs*. Diogenes Laertius, Bk. X., translated by A.K., with critical remarks. The translation is careful, and the critical remarks of great value.

Jan. 22. E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (Marx). The results cannot be accepted.

Jan. 29. Peterson, *Goethe und Aristoteles* (Kalischer). A subject upon which no new results are possible. L. Dugas, *L'amitié antique* (Nestle). Unsatisfactory. E. Wolff, *Taciti Historiae*, with explanatory notes by E. W. (Wackermann). Highly praised. W. Klein, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus* (Rosenberg). Well thought out.

Feb. 5. C. Wessely, *Aus der Welt der Papyri* (Gerhard). The choice of the material is somewhat arbitrary: otherwise the work is well done. H. von Arnim, *Platons Jugenddialoge und die Entstehungszeit des Phaidros* (Ritter). The chronological conclusions are doubtful.

Feb. 12. A. Mansion, *Introduction à la physique Aristotélicienne* (Nestle). Well thought out and ably arranged. C. Harder, *Platons Symposium*, explained by Schmelzer, revised by C. H. (Nohle). To be welcomed.

Feb. 19. O. Apelt, *Platons Sophistes, Politikos, Menon*, translated and explained by O. A.; C. Ritter, *Platons Phaidros*, translated and explained by C. R. (Moog), On the level of the latest researches.

Feb. 26. H. Skassis, (i.) *Adnotationes criticae ad Ciceronis librum qui De Fato inscribitur*; (ii.) *Observationes criticae in quosdam locos primi libri qui est De Divinatione* (Sachs). The contents are in keeping with the excellence of the form.

Mar. 4. H. Bartlett van Hoesen, *Roman cursive writing* (Wessely). The reproductions of the alphabets are insufficient. H. M. Hubbel, *The influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius, and Aristides* (Nestle). Well done. H. Lamer, *Römische Kultur im Bilde*. Is recommended.

Mar. 11. J. L. Heiberg, *Archimedis opera omnia* it. ed. J. L. H. III. (Manitius). The critical apparatus is thoroughly revised. There are three good indices.

Mar. 18. A. Trendelenburg, *Pausanias in Olympia* (Heberdey). Follows the trend of modern criticism in giving less attention to his supposed sources, and more to his way of thinking and expressing himself. The critic differs however in fundamental matters.



Mar. 25. E. Meyer, *Der Emporkömmling* (Nestle). Follows the type of the adventurer in private and public life in the various forms of Greek and Latin literature.

**Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.** 1915. XI. XII.

A. Schulten, *Numantia I. Die Keltiberer und ihre Kriege mit Rom* (Bauer). Very instructive, but exactness in detail is overdone. M. Niebuhr Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks* (Ziebarth). The critic regrets that mention is made only of arbitration between nations, and not of calling in arbitrators from abroad for home questions.

**Hermes.** LI. 1. 1916.

M. Wellmann, *Pamphilos*. The writer treats of the source of Aelian in natural history, and withdraws his former suggestion that this source was Alexander of Myndos. From renewed researches he reaches the conclusion that the source was not a writer on natural history, but some large selection of extracts by a grammarian, and this may well be Pamphilos, who presumably edited, in addition to his *Lexikon*, a work on natural history, entitled *Φυσικά*. This however will not have been an independent work, but a section of his *Λεγμών*, which was a work preparatory to the *Lexikon*. H. Dessau, *Pontius, der Biograph Cyprians*. D. identifies the biographer with an official of Curubis mentioned in CIL. VIII. 980. W. Otto, *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit*. O. rejects the thesis of Gelzer (*Hermes* 50, p. 395 sq.), according to which the nobility in the imperial period was a strictly closed body, and so disappeared in the second century A.D. Even in the imperial period nobility could be won for descendants by the possession of certain official positions. H. F. Müller, *Plotinische Studien*. Ennead I. 1. is paraphrased and the text and matter discussed. O. Viedebanтт, *Der athenische Volksbeschluss über Mass und Gewicht*. V. gives the text after fresh examination, with translation and commentary. The resolution is noteworthy, as it describes the reception of the Roman system of weights and measures, and so gives a picture of the dependence of Athens on Rome in the second century B.C. A. Körte, *Zum 2. Buch von Vergil's Aeneis*. A discussion of the Helen episode in Aen. II. 567-588, against R. Heinze. MISZELLEN. H. Toepfer maintains that the prologue to Terence's *Andria* was written for the original performance. E. Hohl maintains that Petrarch did not possess the codex Palatinus 899 of the *Historia Augusta*, but read it cursorily and had it copied later. F. Jacoby writes on Jesus in Josephus.

LI. 2. 1916.

†L. Cohn, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Philo*. Remarks and conjectures on *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, *De uita contemplatiua* and *De aeternitate mundi*. A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Stenographie*. (i.) *Isidor und die römische Stenographie*. On the meaning and the sources of Isidorus, where he speaks of short-hand. (ii.) *Die christlichen Bestandtheile der Commentarii notarum Tironianarum*. The Christian *addita* were made in the fifth century in Gaul; they are not by Cyprian. (iii.) *Die erdkundlichen Namen in den Commentarii not.* Tir. III. 1. The geographical names are arranged according to a geographical principle and according to the form of the notes. (iv.) *Die Anlage von Senecas Verzeichniss tironischer Noten*. Seneca's edition of the *notae* consisted of four *commentarii*: (a) stem-signs, ending-signs, etc., (b) words taken from public life, (c) names of towns, (d) words taken from private life. E. Täubler, *Die nicht bestimmbareren Hinweise bei Josephus und die Anonymus-hypothese*. Josephus refers 238 times to passages in his own works, but as a rule the passages are not to be found: the explanation is that the work was an abbreviated translation of his own Aramaic edition, and not that his source was anonymous. G. Thiele, *Die Poesie unter Domitian*. (i.) *Das Sulpicia-Gedicht*. The Sulpicia verses are

authentic; they were composed immediately after the banishment of the philosophers and published after her death. (ii.) *Interesse des Kaisers an der Poesie*. The authors of the fable that Domitian was an enemy to higher culture are the opposition consisting of senators and philosophers. (iii.) *Verhältniss Domitians zu Statius und Martial*. Domitian only moderately appreciated their works. K. Ziegler, *Zu Cicero De re publica*. (i.) *Zur Reconstruction des Palimpsestes*. (ii.) *Zur Textgeschichte im Altertum*. C. Robert, *Tyro*. On the evolution of the Tyro-myth. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Das athenische Psephisma über Salamis*. Conjectures. MISZELLEN. F. Bechtel, *Εὐρυπῶν or Εὐρυφῶν?* (Herod. VIII. 131). C. Weyman on Tert. *Apol.* 48. 1. W. Jaeger on Enn. *Ann.* frg. 222 (Vahlen). B. Keil on Ar. *Knights*, 814. K. Praechter on Plato *Gorgias*, 521 E. G. Wissowa, *Περικειρομένη bei Tacitus*. On Tac. *Germ.* 19.

**Neue Jahrbücher.** XVIII. 1915.

XVIII. 5. Franz Studniczka, *Die griechische Kunst an Kriegergräbern*. Descriptive article, with illustrations.

XVIII. 6. Ernst Howald, *Die Weltanschauung Senecas*. Expository discussion of the contradictory Epicurean and Stoic tendencies in Seneca's philosophy,—Seneca was temperamentally an aristocrat, and we cannot reconcile his personal feelings with his formal theories. Arthur Stein, *Tacitus als Geschichtsquelle*. Tacitus was well fitted by position, education, and character for an historian; he was influenced by racial, religious, and social pride, and did not attempt to write a complete history of his period. More admired than read, as Lessing says.

XVIII. 7. Hans Philipp, *Die archäologische Erforschung Apuliens*. Discussion of pre-Greek, Messapian and Iapygian remains and extent of influence. Wilhelm Soltau, *Die Ursachen eines antiken Weltkrieges*. We should regard the wars between Rome and Carthage not as three separate wars, but as three different phases of one conflict. It was really the successor in a different place and time of the ancient Greco-Phoenician rivalry in the eastern Mediterranean. Rome, by a self-seeking, ruthless policy, became influential over the Italian and Sicilian Greek cities, and henceforth was their champion against the Carthaginians.

XVIII. 9. Otto Immisch, *Neue Wege der Platonforschung*. Distinguishes between an earlier and a later 'Phaedrus,' basing his deductions on a careful analysis of the myth, the winged soul and the winged, two-horse chariot not blending very well together.

XVIII. 10. Alfred Klotz, *Der Helvetierzug: zur Glaubwürdigkeit von Cäsars Commentarii de Bello Gallico*. Discusses political aspects of the Helvetian movement, which are not always given due weight by Caesar. On the whole, Caesar's narrative is, however, to be regarded as accurate.

XVIII. 10 II. Richard Meister, *Aristoteles als ethischer Beurteiler des Krieges*. Aristotle discusses problems of the justice of war and its relation to peace. A just war is (1) in self-defence, (2) to benefit the conquered, e.g., those unable to govern themselves, (3) to conquer those naturally intended to be slaves. War is not an end in itself, but a necessary preliminary to peace sometimes, and the defender of peculiar institutions and 'Kultur.'

**Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica.** XLIV. 1. 1916.

R. Sabbadini, *The composition of the Orator of Cicero*. Distinguishes two parts of the treatise (a) 1-139, originally a private letter to Brutus, subsequently amplified into a book addressed to the public, and ready for publication in July-Sept. 46.; (b) the rest of the treatise added later. P. Rasi, *Varia*. In Catalepton XIV. 9 defends the MS. reading 'aut mille coloribus ales' against the 'atque ignicoloribus alis' proposed by Schmid, who had however been partly anticipated by Scaliger and



Pithoeus. In Juv. I. 85 rejects Damsté's proposal 'quidquid agit homines' but suggests that by keeping 'agunt' (in the sense of 'agitant') and treating 'quidquid' as a collective subject and 'homines' as accusative, the same sense may be obtained. In Verg. *Georg.* IV. 132 where the MSS. fluctuate between 'animis' and 'animo' proposes the locative 'animi.' V. Ussani, *Rutilius Namatianus and Laurentius Valla*. Traces *disiecta membra* of Rutilius in the works of Valla. The archetypal MS. of Rutilius then probably existing at Bobbio may have been seen by Valla during his stay at Piacenza or Pavia. D. Bassi, *Unedited Papyri from Herculaneum*. Gives a fragmentary text of Papyrus 1670, and rejecting the view of Scott that this roll contained either the work of Epicurus *περὶ φύσεως* or that of Chrysippus *περὶ προνοίας* and Crönert's attribution of it to Philodemus, agrees that it deals with the Stoic doctrine of *πρόνοια*. E. Ciaceri, *The historic objectivity of the Thucydidean Speeches*. Thucydides puts in the mouth of his speakers not only what they said or would have said but also what they presumably thought, and that even when on the given occasion they certainly would not have expressed the thought. F. Ribezzo, ΚΑΣΙΓΝΗΤΟΣ. Holding with Kretschmer and others that the word means 'born of the same mother,' rejects the etymology *αὐτο-τεκασι-γνητος* and argues for *αὐτο-κασι-γνητος* (*αὐτο-κῆτι-γνητος*) where *κῆτι* represents a 'nomen actionis' with the meaning 'conception,' akin to the Latin 're-cens.' *αὐτο-κασι-γνητος* thus equals not 'eadem matre' but 'eodem conceptu' or 'eadem concipiente genitus.' O. Nazzari, Three articles: (i.) on the Greek and Latin declension of words in *-ia*. (ii.) on the Greek denominative verbs in *-αω, -εω, -οω, -ιω, -υω*. (iii.) on the etymology of *ebrius* and *sobrius*, *-met* and *-te*, and *τράγος*. C. O. Zuretti, *On Xen. Memorabilia* IV. 4. Shews how the salient traits of Hippias (*πολυμαθία*, contempt for positive law, habit of deriding his adversary) are brought out by Xenophon, and notes coincidences of thought with the Platonic dialogues. R. Sabbadini, *The pretended orations of Pliny again*. The four letters current under the name of Leonardo Bruni (for one of which see *Rivista* XLIII., pp. 308-9) are adaptations of letters of G. Barzizza, with the names altered not merely as an epistolary exercise but with deliberate intent to deceive. C. Marchesi, *The first book of the Ars Amatoria*. Examines the structure, sources and date of the book, taking account of the views of Bürger, Tolkiehn and others.

#### XLIV. 2. 1916.

D. Bassi, *Unedited papyri from Herculaneum*. Pronounces Pap. 1421 to be in 'most disastrous' condition and illegible save for a few words including the title *Χρυσίππου περὶ Προνοίας*. Gives a text and critical notes of parts of Pap. 1038. P. Ercole, *Juvenal* VII. 134. Explains 'stlattaria purpura' as 'purple bought from a pirate ship,' i.e. contraband and therefore cheap. M. L. De Gubernatis, *Questions in Probus I. The accusatives urbis urbes turrum turrem in Virgil*. Argues for the co-existence of both forms in Virgil, which is asserted by Probus (Gellius XIII. 21) and paralleled in the Marmor Ancyranum. C. Pascal, *De Catullianorum carminum inscriptionibus*. Maintains the genuineness of the titles prefixed to the poems of Catullus. G. Ginevri-Blasi, *On Pindar* Pyth. VIII. 48-55. Attempts to explain the allusion to Adrastus. S. Ferri, *De Hyptii Gangrensis in draconem miraculo*. Publishes a scholiast on Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 17, giving an account of the incident. E. Bignone, *Studies in Plutarch*. I. A critical examination of the text, sources and contents of the treatise 'Non posse suauiter uiui secundum Epicurum.' F. Nencini, *On two epigrams of Martial*. In v. 77 'oleum ferre in auricula' = 'grauiter olentes aures habere' which reveals the presence of Marullus in the dark as effectively as a lantern (for this sense of 'oleum ferre' cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. 7. 34). In IX. 95 offers an explanation of 'Alphius ante fuit, coepit nunc Olphius esse.' Alphius = παιδικά, for ἄλφα is a reproach levelled at 'cinaedi' in Anth. Pal. XII. 187 (cf. ἀλφησταί in



Athenaeus 281 e). By changing the *a* into *o* we reach 'Paedico' for the meaning of Olphius. V. Ussani, *Horace converted and an apostle of conversion*. A polemic against the view of Courbaud (*Horace, sa vie et sa pensée*. Paris 1914), who finds evidence in Horace of a moral crisis and conversion to Stoicism. G. Corradi, *The end of the reign of Seleucus Nicator*. An elaborate discussion of the chronology, disagreeing with Beloch and placing the battle of Korupedion in the autumn of 282 B.C. and the death of Seleucus in the spring of 281.

**Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.** 1915.

Dec. 20. H. Francotte, *Études sur Démosthène* (Fr. Cauer). Fruitful and attractive studies. T. Rice Holmes, *C. I. Caesaris Commentarii VII., A. Hirri Comm. VII.*, edited by T. R. H. (R. Oehler). Important and interesting.

Dec. 27. F. Steinmann, *Neue Studien zu den Gemäldebeschreibungen des ältern Philostrat* (Lamer). An excellent dissertation.

1916. Jan. 3. S. Marck, *Die platonische Ideenlehre in ihren Motiven* (Lehnert). One of the most important and acute works on this subject. T. Misson, *Recherches sur le paganisme de Libanios* (Asmus). Thorough and industrious.

Jan. 10. R. Th. Elliot, *Aristophanes, The Acharnians*, by R. Th. E. (R. Wagner). In this substantial and valuable book an unusual amount of solid matter is to be found. S. Krauss, *Monumenta Hebraica V. 1; Griechen u. Römer* (C. Fries). Practically a dictionary of Talmudic Antiquities; the classical nations appear in it from a one-sided point of view, which is however an important contribution to the general history of culture.

Jan. 17. Karl Hähnle, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik* [(Lamer). H. is master both of the material and the literature. Nikos Bees, *Zur Sigillographie der byzantinischen Themen Hellas und Peloponnes* (Herke). Considering the large number of questions dealt with, the absence of an Index is regrettable.

Jan. 24. M. Jastrow, jr., *Babylonian-Assyrian birth-omens and their cultural significance* (Schulze). The critic often remains unconvinced.

Jan. 31. C. Fredrich, *Vor den Dardanellen, auf altgriechischen Inseln, und auf dem Athos* (Schwatlo). Valuable even for scholars. O. Apelt, *Platons Dialog Menon*, übers. und erl. von O. A. Readable and exact.

Feb. 7. O. Maass, *Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus* (Stürmer). The critic dissents in the main. Fr. Kubiček, *Quomodo Tacitus in Annalibus et Historiis componendis senatus actis usus sit* (Andresen). H. Menze, *Repetitorium der lat. Syntax u. Stilistik*. 10 ed. (Nohl). Careful and trustworthy.

Feb. 14. W. H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien* (Nestle). Valuable. T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (Ziehen). Written with admirable competence.

Feb. 21. G. Roeder, *Aus dem Leben vornehmer Aegypter* (Wiedemann). Gives a clear picture of the autobiographical literature of ancient Egypt.

Feb. 28. H. Siögren, *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera*. XI. Ep. ad Fam. rec. H. S. (Sternkopf). Highly praised. A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte u. Verwaltung Aegyptens unter römischer Herrschaft* (Wiedemann). Interesting and well arranged.

Mar. 6. Fr. Stoble, *Der römische Legionar und sein Gepäck* (R. Oehler). G. Andresen, *P. Cornelius Tacitus Ab excessu D. A. I.-VI.* 11th issue of Nipperdey's edition (Ed. Wolff). Details are discussed.

Mar. 13. A. H. Weston, *Latin satirical writing* (Ziehen). Very competent work.

Mar. 20. C. Robert, *Oidipus* (H. Lamer).

Mar. 27. L. J. Richardson, *Greek and Latin Glyconics* (Draheim). The statistics are impressive, but not convincing. A. Knoch, *Die schottische Liviusübersetzung des John Bellenden* (Tolkiehn).

April 10. B. O. Foster, *The Trojan war again* (Stürmer). Unfavourable.

April 17. G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. D. condita nunc tertium edita. I. (W. Larfeld). This volume edited under the guidance of H. von Gaertringen meets modern demands in all respects. N. Pappadakis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Ἰσρείου ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ (W. Larfeld).

May 1. K. Ch. Storck, *Die ältesten Sagen der Insel Keos*. (β). K. Meister, *Lateinisch-griechische Eigennamen*. I. Altitalische u. römische Eigennamen (K. Fr. W. Schmidt). A remarkable achievement. C. C. Conrad, *The technique of continuous action in Roman Comedy* (P. Wessner). Thorough and conscientious. E. Schwabe, *Antike Erzählerkunst*. 12 Greek tales, collected and translated by E. S. (von Nohl). Careless and often misleading work.

## LANGUAGE.

### Glotta. VII. 1-3. 1915.

H. Bergfeld, *On the nature of Latin accent*. Predominantly tone rather than stress. Makes no substantial contribution to the old assertions, though the clausula rhythm is appealed to. L. Radermacher, *On some Greek verb forms*. Derives opt. sg. ἀναβαῖ δοῖ ἐλ from plurals ἀναβαῖμεν, etc.; analogy of contract verbs, ποιοῖ: ποιοῖμεν. P. Kretschmer, *On the name of Adonis*. Rejects the Phoenician derivation and connects with the sept of ἡδύς ('Αδωνίς). Γάυας (epithet); sept of gaudeo. Günther Jackmann, *On old Latin prosody*. Rejects pyrrhics due to iambic shortening in the 5/8 song measures (Bacchiacs, Cretics), chiefly by means of synizesis of meo- and eo eunt. 'Final,' not iambic, shortening in -ō. Ennius eschewed iambic shortening as vulgar and followed the pattern of the 'solemn' Saturnians. Franz Stürmer, *A summons to word-studies*, with methodic suggestions. W. Kroll, *Hist. Apoll.* 7 S 11, 3. Defends si ualeas. D. Detschew, *Thracian Inscription on the gold ring of Ezerovo (Bulgaria)*. Capitalizes, divides and interprets as Πολιστενεας Νερενεα, Τιλτεαν Ησκοα ρα ξεα, δομεαν Τιλεζυπτα, μυη εραζηλτα = R., Sohn des Nereneas, Tilatäer vom Gebiete des Flusses Iska, Einwohner vom Tilezypta, machte mich für sich. P. Kretschmer reviews this interpretation; makes, after F. Krohn, two hexameter lines of the text, the first ending with ησκο (= εἰμι), the second beginning with Ἀραξεα. Interpretation: ich bin R., Nerenia (gentile name, or the like) nach ihrer . . ., Arazerin nach ihrer Heimat. Tilezypta hat mich geschenkt (or, . . . geheiratet). Neither interpretation lies in the realm of definitive discussion: why not define εραζηλτα by 'radit' (e.g.), whence '(radendo) fecit'; or, in an 'engagement' ring, divide ερα-ζηλτα 'ualde amauit'? O. Lautensach, *Grammatical studies in Attic drama*. A. Subjunctives. 1. Lengthening of the (Homeric) mood-vowel. 2. Monosyllabic tense stems in -F -j -σ, except of δεῖ 'binds,' leave their forms open. 3. Contracted endings. 4. -ησθα -ησι. 5. Duals. B. Optatives. 1. a. Singulars in ιη; b. in ῖ (ιη), in non-thematic forms. 2. Pres. act. of contract verbs; a. -ουην forms; b. -οῖμι forms (table, p. 110). 3. -ν in 1st pers. sg. pres. and aor. 4. Middle endings in -μην / -μαν. 5. -ατο / -ντο forms (table, p. 116). W. Kroll, *The Potential Subjunctive in Latin*, developed before our eyes from the will-wish-future Subjunctive. [cf. *Class. Rev.* xiv. 319; as regards Bacch. 735, K. forgets non quia c. subj.] W. Kroll, pp. 152-160, defends iambic shortening, especially against Jackmann, supra. J. Wackernagel, *Investigations in Homeric Language*. Part I. Attic Redaction; Part II. Atticisms of the Homeric poets (p. 319, index of passages). This article requires the attention of Homerists. Herbert Petersson, *Etymology of Latin arx*. From ev(e)q-; cognate with Orcus, Armen. orm 'murus.'

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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OCTOBER, 1916.

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## MARRIAGE REGULATIONS IN THE *REPUBLIC*.

### I.

THE ideal city of Plato could only come true if three great and unlikely changes were made in the state. Neither Plato's contemporaries nor later generations have been able to breast the second of these 'waves,' which brings in a new order of marriage for guardians. The scheme is condemned as not only not good or possible—the Platonic tests—but as inconsistent with itself and with the account given in the *Timaeus*. The parts under censure are the so-called table of prohibited affinities and the sanction of infanticide. It would be strange to find discrepancies in a proposal so important for Plato's state that details cannot well be left to some Damon, and I hope to show that difficulties arise only when critics do not place themselves exactly at Plato's point of view. He conceived a certain problem with sharp outlines, and his answer is precisely adapted to that. The first wave left the guardians as a family of men and women living in common. How was it possible to preserve this communal life and provide for the future of the guardian class? If the rulers failed to choose aright here, an oracle foretold the decay of the city (415b-c). Therefore Plato's rigid preoccupation in the second wave is to secure for the archons<sup>1</sup> entire control over the birth of guardian children. Otherwise the community will sink into mere promiscuity and the stock will degenerate. In short, Plato tries to ensure that, apart from the necessary getting of children for the state, the guardians shall be friends and not lovers. Our special problems arise from the two questions—*πῶς παιδοποιήσονται, καὶ γενομένους πῶς θρέψουσι*; (449e). Let us begin with the first of these.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I shall use this word of those who administer the marriage regulations.

not touch upon the historical background of Plato's scheme.

<sup>2</sup> This paper, being interpretative only, does



## II.

The archons who select husbands and wives are guided by the rule of utility that breeders of animals would follow. These selections are to be made at certain festivals, ostensibly by lot, though the lots are manipulated by the archons. The festivals themselves are accompanied by songs and sacrifice and prayer. Marriages are arranged with an eye to the number of children required. In short, their sole purpose is to provide guardian children, and they seem to last only for the marriage festival. Then follow certain prescriptions about conduct, which are intended to prevent all but the legal procreation of children. As the meaning and purpose of these have been misunderstood, I shall give a full analysis of the passage.<sup>1</sup>

The age for marriage extends from 20 to 40 for women and from about 25 to 55 for men. (1) No one older or younger may interfere with births for the commonwealth—that is an impious offence. (2) No man in his prime shall touch a woman in hers, unless the archon joins them. (3) Men and women over the prime are free to form unions with whom they will, (4) *except* with daughter and mother, daughter's daughters and female ancestors, as regards the man, and with the equivalent relations as regards the woman. They shall be strongly discouraged from having or rearing offspring.

Glaucon asks how shall a father know his daughter, and the answer is that he cannot. Then follows the law of relationship (5). 'From whatsoever day one of them become a bridegroom, he shall call male children born in the tenth—yes, and in the seventh—month after that his sons, and females his daughters, and they shall call him father; so their children in turn he shall call his grandchildren, and they call him and her grandparents; while those who are born during that time in which their fathers and mothers are engaged in begetting they shall call brothers and sisters, so that, (6) as we have just said, they must not touch one another. (7) But the law shall give brothers and sisters to cohabit if the lot fall in this way and the Pythian priestess add her sanction.' So end the rules laid down by Plato.

They cannot be interpreted at all unless the law of relationship (5) is understood, for all the other clauses depend upon it. The late Mr. Herbert Richards pointed out that 'brothers and sisters would be all persons born, roughly speaking, within thirty years of one another.'<sup>2</sup> As Plato could not possibly mean to forbid all unions whatever, and indeed permits marriages of brothers and sisters (7), the prohibition must, he thinks, apply to the unions (3) of those over their prime. 'Plato would seem absolutely to forbid irregular unions between persons who may possibly be near relations.' The difficulties of this view, which will be discussed presently, are set aside by the suggestion that Plato does not seem to have thought out all the consequences of his scheme. Mr. Adam accepts this interpretation with a difference. He too thinks that the veto on brothers and sisters (6) applies to the irregular unions

<sup>1</sup> *Republic*, 460e-461e.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Review*, IV. 6-8.

(3), but argues that not all marriages are excluded ; for example, the son of old parents is not forced to marry his sister. Let us examine the effect of the rule, so interpreted, upon marriage and then upon the irregular unions.<sup>1</sup>

'A son,' says Mr. Adam, 'who is born when his mother is 21 and his father 26 cannot marry till he is 49, because he is 29 before his bride can possibly be born, and she cannot marry under 20 ; whereas a son whose father is 54 and mother 39 when he is born can marry a girl only one year younger than himself, because his father and mother retire at 55 and 40 respectively.' I do not know why it should be impossible on Mr. Adam's premises for a man in the first case to marry a woman a year or more older than himself, still less why any principle laid down by Plato compels us to play with figures in this way. Push the calculation a generation back, and ask how many men of 26 would be eligible to marry the girl of 21. It is clear that the archons would be hampered by a network of useless taboos, and that the law of relationship would strangle the law of utility. Adam almost admits this when he adds that 'Plato did well to introduce a saving clause' (6), allowing brothers and sisters to marry. What function could the law of relationship possibly fulfil in controlling marriages? The archons required no such guide, for they knew who were blood relations and obeyed the law of utility. A definition flung so widely as this must be meant for minds with no exact knowledge—that is, for the guardians in general rather than for the archons.

Does the law then apply to the irregular unions? Adam thinks that the effect of the prohibition 'would be greatly to restrict, but not to abolish, unauthorized liaisons.' But why should Plato desire this effect, or choose such inconsequent means to bring it about? If he desires to prevent consanguineous matings, why forbid so many that carry no such stigma? if to restrict free unions, why permit any? and in either case, why draw a line between the permissible and the illicit on no rational principle? To take Mr. Richards' view first, all guardians may be divided into two groups, according as their age is within or above 30 years of any particular guardian who has passed the prime. But under rules (4) and (6) he or she may unite with neither class, so that the liberty which Plato appears to grant by rule (3) is precisely cancelled! This contradiction nullifies any attempt to base the law upon the age of any individual guardian. If, with Mr. Adam, we try to reason from the ages of the parents of any individual, still another difficulty besets us. *Ex hypothesi* the guardian forming a free union has no clue to the ages of the four people upon whose years of marriage the legitimacy of the union is said to depend. Was Socrates jesting when he gave Glaucon the formula by which a man might know his kin? It is evident that this second interpretation gives no guide, while the first guides to nothing. But Plato's text admits of neither rendering, for how can the veto on the union of brother and sister apply primarily to free unions, when Plato says that he is repeating a prohibition just made (ὁ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν)? Any mention of brothers or sisters was pointedly avoided in the

<sup>1</sup> *Republic*, 461e.



restriction actually laid on these liaisons (3). As that is only two sentences back, we cannot lightly accuse Plato of such a wanton contradiction. Indeed Adam admits that 'the discrepancy is hard to explain, especially as the list of relations in 461d seems intended to be exhaustive.' It is exhaustive for Plato's purpose, as will be seen.

Consider how these views make Plato end his marriage plan. He leaves guardians who have passed their prime at liberty to form free unions, but forbids intercourse with older or younger generations. Then he states a law of relationship which covers this, and now forbids them to unite with brothers and sisters as well, though he imagines that he has already done so, which is not the case. Having in this roundabout way revoked the licence he had given, he discovers that the new law gravely affects marriage, and interjects a saving clause permitting marriages of brothers and sisters under conditions. If Plato wrote like this, would not his scheme collapse in ridicule? In truth these interpretations are ambiguous on two points. They have not decided whether the law of incest depends upon the Greek family or the divisions of the guardian family, and so have set an obscure penumbra round the old principle forbidding consanguineous unions. Consequently they have not assigned to the law any precise function, whether it is to direct the archon or to deter guardians from unholy acts. If the latter, then the rule must be so comprehensible that he who runs may read. We should expect, and we shall find that the law conforms to the natural divisions of the Platonic family.

Undoubtedly all of a generation are to be counted as brothers and sisters, for we have seen that any calculations which might pick holes in the general rule could not possibly be made by those who fall under it. But how is a generation reckoned? The answer must be that the definition is based upon the generation in their prime. The guardians form a family all of whom are related as parent to child or brother to sister. We must not be misled by the humorous particularity of the law mentioning the 'tenth—yes, and the seventh month,' but consider for whom the law is meant. Now the *Timaeus* puts this beyond doubt, for it states that the archons are to 'devise that all shall consider themselves all as kin, those who come within the age of prime as brothers and sisters, those beyond and above as parents and the progenitors of parents, those below as offspring, and the children of offspring' (18c-d). This conception is implied by the *Republic* itself, where the marriage period or entry on marriage are the datum points from which relationship is reckoned (5). It is clear that we must cast aside the idea that relationship and marriage are mutually exclusive—that is, tenable only so long as relationship implies close consanguinity—and admit that none but brothers and sisters can marry. What then is the purpose of the law of relationship? In order to establish this it is necessary to consider the effect of the prohibitions laid down by Plato.

The first two prohibitions give little difficulty. Jowett and Campbell make Plato forbid anyone over or under the marriage age to bring forth for the state. But they cannot, for the archons select only children of those who are



legally married. Bearing for the state is a function performed by selected women between 20 and 40. What Plato does forbid is interference by *men* over or under their prime with such births,<sup>1</sup> and the real offence is meddling with guardian women between 20 and 40. It is characterized as impious because such unions are formed surreptitiously and without due rites. So far, then, women in their prime are protected from men outside the marriage age. The second prohibition equally safeguards them from men of their own generation. Its effect is to confine the sexual relation between such to legal marriage. Together these laws adequately protect women reserved for bearing guardian children. They do not form the marriage law proper—which directs archons to mate men and women within the specified ages according to the law of utility, but they prevent any violation of that law on the part of the guardian family. The danger of such infractions would be that adulterine children might be foisted on the pure guardian stock, and that promiscuity might break down the brotherhood. But it is one thing to forbid, another to gain obedience to a new code of morals. Plato speaks of such unions as impious (461a) and their offspring as unholy (461b). How will he persuade the guardians to feel that it is so?

It is at this point, I think, that interpretation has gone astray. Next follows the dispensation (3) to men and women past their prime to make what liaisons they will with certain restrictions. If the law of relationship in all its detail is intended to apply to these free unions, the plan is put together out of focus, and seems, as was seen, to be riddled with contradiction. Our clue must be the fact that Plato is fortifying his marriage plan against specific dangers. His two prohibitions have forbidden two types of liaison which threaten the state mothers. Now the liberty accorded to older guardians is simply a consequence of the limitation of the marriage age. If men and women within that age can be joined by the archon only, the archon can join no others. Hence those who may no longer marry are left free to follow their own inclination.<sup>2</sup> Ὅταν δὲ δὴ . . . ἐκβῶσι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀφήσομέν π ο υ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους, κ.τ.λ. This is not the language of a law. *The law is contained in the restriction that follows.*

This restriction (4) prevented cohabitation with parent or grandparent, child or grandchild.<sup>3</sup> The reason why brother and sister are omitted from this careful list must be connected with the relation of one generation to another.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκοῦν ἐάν τε πρεσβύτερος τούτων ἐάν τε νεώτερος τῶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν γεννήσεων ᾤψηται, οὔτε ὄσιον οὔτε δίκαιον φήσομεν τὸ ἀμάρτημα. . . . This refers to a certain act, and not to the purpose of the act. Indeed, it is beyond the power of any individual to try to get his child into the fold. τῶν γεννήσεων is abstract for concrete τῶν . . . γεννωσῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Even the disposition of children is left to them, though there is no doubt of the wishes of the archons (see part III.).

<sup>3</sup> Adam's remark that the relations named

here are in the direct line, and that Greek law permitted marriages between uncle and niece on the father's side is not in point. As the sole relationships recognized in the guardian family will be those of parent and child, or brother and sister, the only question is why Plato specifies the former here and omits the latter. Nor is it relevant to mention the 'revolting views' of the Cynics on the marriage of blood relations. Both of these references treat the Platonic scheme in terms of consanguinity, which is not in question.

This rule would prevent guardians past the age from casting their eyes upon either those in their prime or those approaching it, and conversely the latter would be constrained to look upon the older men and women as parents only. The fact that Plato mentions more than one generation upwards is evidence that he is not thinking primarily of the older guardians but of the state parents, who are to be kept inviolate. Here indeed is the sanction which is needed to fortify the first prohibition. The 'older' or 'younger' who intrude upon the state births have now the nature of their impiety made manifest. The law safeguards marriage solely, and is concerned with free unions only so far as they threaten it and its purposes.

After the definition of relationship, Plato repeats his command that brothers and sisters shall not touch (*ἄπτεσθαι*) one another (6). As this cannot refer to the free unions for reasons already given, it must supply the missing religious sanction for the second prohibition, which forbade state parents (*οἱ ἔτι γεννῶντες* and *αἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γυναῖκες*) to touch (*ἄπτεσθαι*) one another unless the archon joined them (461b). If there could be doubt of this, the *Timaeus* would resolve it by echoing the language of both prohibition and its proper sanction in one phrase—*ἀδελφὰς μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ὅσοι περ ἂν τῆς πρεπούσης ἐντὸς ἡλικίας γίγνωνται* (18c-d). There are thus two prohibitions which effectively secure marriage from the risks that the common life of the guardians might entail. Then Plato crowns each prohibition with its proper religious sanction to ensure due respect and awe. Only this hypothesis, so far as I can see, will explain why Plato separated these sanctions, and why the restriction in the direct line is appended to the licensing of free unions, while the second sanction, affecting those of marriageable age alone, is delayed till it can be placed alongside the marriage-law proper (7).<sup>1</sup> They serve his purpose only because his definition of relationship embraced the whole guardian class in its three stages—before, during, and after the physical prime. To his living imagination it *was* a family, and he took over the names of parent and child, brother and sister from the patriarchal group and adapted them to their new setting.

This scheme of relationship brings every irregular union of men and women who are or may be state parents under the ban of incest, by extending the bounds of the Greek family to the limits of the guardian family. Now Plato is able to do so under his theory of the *γενναῖον ψεύδος*. His first great difficulty had been to reconcile the whole state to the division of classes, which was a complete innovation and involved friction, because citizens were shifted from one class to another according to the principle of function. He fortified the new plan by the hoary myth of the four races and the autochthonous origin of man (*πεῖσαι δὲ συχνῆς πειθοῦς* 414c). All in the state were brothers sprung from earth, but brothers with a difference, according to the metal the god had mixed in (415a). In Book V. he proposes an even more dangerous change, since his guardians were thrown together in intimate friendship by the

<sup>1</sup> See the interpretation of rule (7) below.



first wave. He must be certain of some stored inhibition strong enough to withstand the *ἔμφυτος ἀνάγκη* (458d) which might wreck the community, and this he draws from the family that his scheme is destined to supplant. The way is prepared at the outset. Socrates warned Glaucon that a courageous doctor would be needed to administer the necessary drugs (458c-d), and this direct reminiscence of the medicinal lie<sup>1</sup> prepares for some *συχρὸν ψευδὲς καὶ ἀπάτη* (c) which will ensure respect for the new laws. The archons manipulate the lots according to the law of utility, but the guardians are to believe that chance is responsible. But the 'right deception' hardly stops there. So far, if it is believed, guardians will accept marriages that are decreed. But what will prevent the disappointed from forming unlawful connections? The *δόξα* implanted in all guardians that they are brothers and sisters, parents and children, is intended to have this effect, because it is founded on a sanction drawn from an immemorial tradition and fortified by religious awe. Plato's regular word for any such device is *μηχάνη*, and consequently *μηχανᾶσθαι* is used in the *Timaeus* to describe the archons' task.<sup>2</sup>

But Plato did not merely divert a residual fund of feeling to sustain a new system. The conception of brotherhood compacted and grappled his guardian family together in the bonds of friendship. This was the positive result of the first wave, now deepened by the second. If he was successful in combining these, then guardians would be friends, and friends only,<sup>3</sup> except for the period when religion ordained marriage for a special purpose.<sup>4</sup> But marriage is only episodic in the more permanent state of kinship. The religious sanctions are therefore intended to safeguard both marriage and friendship. That is why

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 382c, 389b.

<sup>2</sup> *Tim.* 18c. *μηχανωμένους ὅπως . . . νομοῦσιν δὲ πάντες πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁμογενεῖς κ.τ.λ.* (cf. *Rep.* 460c). Note the use in 18c of *μηχανᾶσθαι* about the lots. Also *Rep.* 415c of the myth of the four races.

<sup>3</sup> As this conception must seem somewhat unreal, it may be illustrated on a small scale by the feeling of many people about the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. They argued that the Bill disturbed the comfortable custom whereby the wife's sister could bring up her brother-in-law's children without suspicion of indecorum. Even if they did not believe in the religious sanction, they thought it a convenient *δόξα*. This appeared to be the view of the leader of one of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Now some of Plato's guardians might hold the belief like Lord Hugh Cecil and others like Mr. Matthew Arnold, but either attitude would serve his purpose. In the light of English experience, we should not too hastily call Plato's device visionary.

<sup>4</sup> The strict limitation of marriage in a circumambient atmosphere of *κοινωνία* is a direct corollary of the thesis about the nature of 'same' and 'different' in the first wave. There Plato argued that the difference of sex was an incident

in natures that were essentially alike, because capable of the same *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. He therefore makes of the difference a special restricted function in order to give full scope for the 'guardian' function. Are not Jowett and Campbell, followed by Adam, mistaken in taking 456b to refer to the marriage of guardians? They suppose that Plato recommends guardians who are like in nature (*συγγενεῖς*) to marry, and the Oxford editors find that this passage contradicts the *Politics* and *Laws*. But the passage simply concludes from the previous argument that like natures shall live and exercise guardianship together (*συνοικεῖν καὶ συμφυλάττειν*). *συνοικεῖν* is qualified by the word that follows, and refers to the common life, not to cohabitation as in 457d or 461e. This seems to be certified by the question in 451d, to which the answer is given here—*πότερα συμφυλάττειν οἴμεθα δεῖν ἢ περ ἂν οἱ ἄρρενες φυλάττωσι . . . καὶ τᾶλλα κοινῇ πράττειν, ἢ τὰς μὲν οἰκουρεῖν ἐν ὄντι, ὡς ἀδυνάτους διὰ τὸν τῶν σκυλάκων τόκον τε καὶ τροφήν κ.τ.λ.*; Of course the women are to bear children for the men, but the relevant question is whether they are to share their full life; *συνοικεῖν* is the alternative finally preferred to *οἰκουρεῖν ἐν ὄντι*.



Plato's justification of the scheme naturally turns into a hymn in praise of friendship.

There is now no difficulty about the so-called 'exemption' or 'saving clause' (7)—ἀδελφούς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὰς δώσει ὁ νόμος συνοικεῖν, εἴαν ὁ κληῖρος ταύτῃ συμπίπτῃ καὶ ἡ Πυθία προσαναιρῇ. Ὁρθότατα, ἡ δ' ὅς. This follows the veto on the union of brothers and sisters, answering to the phrase μὴ συνέρξαντος ἄρχοντος in prohibition.<sup>1</sup> The marriage scheme ends fittingly with the regular and only law of marriage—as the guardians are to know it. The archons will follow the law of utility, but their *μηχάναι* shall have every possible sanction. Both Richards and Adam find *προσαναιρῇ* difficult because they consider that particular cases are in question, and both presuppose that the priestess must give her sanction in advance and once for all. But the present tense, the force of *προσ-*, and the order of the verbs, exclude any such interpretation. Nor are we forced to give it. For Plato describes the normal procedure to be carried out at each marriage festival. First the drawing of the lots,<sup>2</sup> then the solemn embassy to Delphi with the full list of marriages, and then the festival of prayer and sacrifice—such are the 'devices' which surround the occasion with awe.<sup>3</sup>

It is hard to avoid importing the categories of consanguinity into Plato's scheme, yet we cannot interpret it till we conceive his terms as he did. He wished to carry over the *feeling* though the *fact* was no longer the same. It is misleading to talk of a 'law of incest' or of 'prohibited degrees,' because our law prevents marriage or any other sexual relation, while Plato's law protects marriage. Both our law and his have in common only the fact that they are conceptions based on deep inhibitions which guard the family against instincts that might otherwise wreck it. Nor is it strictly correct to speak of marriage; for there is no state of marriage but a state of brotherhood with holy marriage seasons intercalated, as it were. Lastly, there is a risk in talking of the 'community of wives' if it makes us ignore the 'community of women.' The community reached beyond this special relationship, which was indeed strictly limited in order to leave room, as Plato thought, for a deeper fellowship. This is the unity of the guardian family, based on the common nature and pursuits of the two sexes. Συγχωρεῖς ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωσίαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἣν διεληλύθαμεν, παιδείας τε πέρι καὶ παίδων καὶ φυλακῆς τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν . . . [δεῖν] πάντα πάντῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν κοινωνεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα πραττούσας τὰ τε βέλτιστα πράξειν καὶ οὐ παρὰ φύσιν τὴν τοῦ θήλεος πρὸς τὸ ἄρρεν, ἡ πεφύκατον πρὸς ἀλλήλῳ κοινωνεῖν; Συγχωρῶ, ἔφη (467c-d compare 451d). This is how Plato ends his proof that the second wave is 'best.' It is best, he thinks, because the strict limitation of

<sup>1</sup> Jowett and Campbell.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is strange,' says Richards, 'that Plato should say "if the lot so fall" because it could not fall otherwise.' But the function of the lot was to fall upon *this* brother and *that* sister (ταύτῃ). Otherwise no brother could touch any

sister. The condition is necessary in view of the veto imposed in the previous clause.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of the *ιεροὶ γάμοι* also appears to link Plato's innovation with the immemorial feast held at Athens in Γαμήλιον, at the *σύνοδος* of sun and moon.

marriage and the prohibition of other sexual relations among the marriageable has enabled him to preserve the full *κοινωνία* between the sexes.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, the clue to the marriage regulations lies in the fact that there are two sets of laws, one of which guides the archons, while the other is intended to control the minds and passions of the guardians. Both aspects are connected in the phrase *εἶν δ' ἂν ἱεροὶ οἱ ὠφέλιμώτατοι* (458e); for a set of *δόξαι* based on religious sanctions induce the guardians to acquiesce in the law of utility.<sup>2</sup> The effect of the laws conjointly is to get the best offspring for the fold, and to secure, at a price, the unity of feeling which the 'first wave' required. So far as he could, Plato abstracted the 'difference' of the sexes from their 'likeness.'<sup>3</sup>

### III.

The sole purpose of marriage was the production of fit children. The best of these are selected for the 'fold' or *σηκός*, where future guardians are first to be reared. What happened to the rejected, or rather, on what principle were the children disposed of? Of the three following sets only the first are put in the fold at birth:

- A. { (1) Children of the better guardians. } V. 459d-e,  
       (2) Children of the worse guardians. } 460c.  
       (3) Maimed children of the better.

There may be added the wider classification, which includes A:

- B. { (4) Children who are promoted (or recalled) to the guardian }  
       class from a lower class. } III. 415b.  
       (5) Children who are degraded from the guardian class to  
       a lower class.

It will be seen at a glance that in Book V. the only criterion is physique and pedigree, while Book III., which discusses original *φύσις* and education,

<sup>1</sup> I may add a word on a criticism of Aristotle's, which presupposes some of the confusions referred to above. He asks how crimes against a relative can be guarded against or expiated when the author does not know his father or mother; this will be especially difficult, he thinks, owing to the interchange between classes, where newcomers will not feel themselves full members of the class and will be more likely to commit such crimes. The answer is that Plato's system made any crime against a fellow-citizen, and particularly against another guardian, an impious act. As the greater includes the less, impieties done in ignorance are now impossible, since all citizens are *ὁμογενεῖς* (378c . . . οὐδ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο δοῖον κ.τ.λ., 415a, and for guardians e.g. 463c-d). Plato's scheme might be open to the criticism that impieties would be common—though constant training (378c) and the religious *δόξαι* were to inhibit them—but there could be no unconscious impieties. But of course Aristotle argues

from the ordinary religious feeling of the day. In truth, the force of the first two waves was expended in order to secure the ideal which Aristotle sets up against the community of women—*φίλιαν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν* (Pol. B. 4. 1262b 7). *Κοινωνία* is simply Plato's word for the spiritual relationship that Aristotle called *φιλία*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare τὸ μὲν ὠφέλιμον καλὸν [457b] with *συχνῶ τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν δεήσειν χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀρχόντας ἐπ' ὧ φερίε τῶν ἀρχομένων* [459c].

<sup>3</sup> How far did the prohibitions apply to those over their prime? Just as far as Plato laid down. He was careful to secure that these unions should have no offspring, but they did not interfere with marriage or with the *σηκός*, which were his main care. He could hardly have contemplated a general breakdown of sanctions, but in Book V. he is legislating solely for the protection of marriage.

sifts the children of all classes. For the second wave is concerned solely with new-born infants of the guardian class, but Book III. brings in the relations between the classes. What is the fate of groups (2) and (3)? It has been held that these, with the offspring of guardians over the marriage age, are condemned to exposure, although the *Timaeus* definitely states that (2) are to be removed to the other part of the town.<sup>1</sup> Adam attempts to surmount the supposed disagreement of the two dialogues by asserting that the *Timaeus* refers to Book III., which it seems to echo. This may be so, but even more decidedly it echoes Book V., as the following parallelism proves:

| <i>Rep.</i> 459d-e.                                                       | <i>Rep.</i> 460c.                                                      | <i>Timaeus</i> 19a.                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| α. καὶ τῶν μὲν [ἀρίστων]<br>τὰ ἔκγονα.                                    | τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν<br>[ἔκγονα] . . .                                 | καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε τὰ μὲν τῶν<br>ἀγαθῶν.    |
| β. τρέφειν.                                                               | λαβοῦσαι εἰς τὸν σηκὸν οἴσουσι<br>παρά τινος τροφούς . . .             | θρεπτέον ἔφαμεν εἶναι.                  |
| γ. τῶν δὲ [φαιλοτάτων]<br>μὴ . . .                                        | τὰ δὲ τῶν χειρόνων . . .<br>καὶ ἂν τι τῶν ἐτέρων<br>ἀνάπηρον γίγνηται. | τὰ δὲ τῶν κακῶν.                        |
| δ. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γιγνόμενα<br>λανθάνειν πλὴν αὐ-<br>τοὺς τοὺς ἀρχοντας. | ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τε καὶ ἀδήλῳ<br>κατακρύψουσι ὥς πρέπει.                    | εἰς τὴν ἄλλην λάθρα<br>διαδοτέον πόλιν. |

A difficulty that Adam felt now disappears. He saw that τὰ τῶν κακῶν (col. 3) did not precisely fit the ἔκγονος ὑπόχαλκος ἢ ὑποσίδηρος of Book III., and invoked the not infrequent inaccuracy of Plato's cross-references to overcome the discrepancy. But the reference to Book V. is almost verbally exact. The *Timaeus*, in fact, professes to tell what happened to offspring of guardians in groups 1, 2, 4, and 5 above; groups 1 and 2 were placed in their appropriate class at birth, while 4 and 5 also contained children who were redistributed according to merit at a later date.<sup>2</sup> The résumé confirms the distinction already noted between Books V. and III., while the omission of the maimed is easy to account for, *de minimis non curat*—collectio. This result endangers the structure of Usener and Brandt's chorizontic theory. According to them, the earlier edition of the *Republic* is represented by Book III. but not by Book V., and the *Timaeus* refers to the former edition. But we find that the recapitulation echoes both Books III. and V. in a single sentence.

Now it would be strange if an echo pointedly contradicted its original. Why have scholars accepted the contradiction as fact or ignored the allusion to Book V.? The reasons are (1) the opposition of τρέφειν and μὴ in 459d, (2) the coupling of the children of the worse guardians with the maimed in col. 2 above, and (3) the ill-omened ending of that clause. Another reason,

<sup>1</sup> For literature, see Adam, *Republic*, I. p. 357, and notes on Book V.

<sup>2</sup> 19a, καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν θρεπτέον ἔφαμεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ τῶν κακῶν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην λάθρα

διαδοτέον πόλιν· ἐπανεξανομένων δὲ σκοπούν-  
τας αἰετὸς τοὺς ἀξίους πάλιν ἀνάγειν δεῖν, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ  
σφίσιον ἀναξίους εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπανιόντων χώραν μεταλ-  
λάττειν.



which has nothing to do with the offspring of marriages, will be discussed in its proper place.

Unless *τρέφειν* has a specialized sense, the most natural alternative would be death. But the *Timaeus* shows that there are other alternatives, for the rejected children are simply placed in another class. If we interpret the *Republic* by itself, *τροφή* should be that which the official *τροφοί* or *τροφῆς* supply to the children of the fold (460c), and need not exclude any other rearing outside that. Indeed Plato so defined the word at the beginning of this discussion; for the question raised is *γενομένους πῶς θρέψουσι*, [449d] or *τίς ἡ κοινωνία τοῖς φύλαξιν ἡμῖν παίδων τε πέρι καὶ γυναικῶν ἔσται καὶ τροφῆς νέων ἔτι ὄντων, τῆς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ γιγνομένης γενέσεως τε καὶ παιδείας, ἣ δὴ ἐπιπονωτάτη δοκεῖ εἶναι*.<sup>1</sup> So while Nettleship<sup>2</sup> says a little too much in suggesting that *τροφή* is used in the emphatic sense of educating as guardians and auxiliaries, either here or in the *Timaeus*, he is essentially right. But the second wave is dealing with *τροφή* and not with *παιδεία* at all. Its question is, 'Who shall enter the nursery?' not 'Who shall enter the school?'

It is argued, however, that the sentence in col. 2 shows that the alternative is death. The whole matter turns on the reason why the children of the worse are coupled with the maimed. If they are to share a common fate, then the phrase would be hard to get over. But it is explained in the next sentence that the object of the severance is to keep the race of guardians pure. So the vital point is who shall and who shall not be admitted to the *σηκός*, and the question about infanticide is subsidiary, in fact a modern issue. If the *Timaeus* is right, the children of 'the worse' were merged in another class. What happened to the maimed is a different matter. Plutarch<sup>3</sup> says that the fate of Spartan children who were weaklings was to be cast into the *Apothetai*, and there is no good reason for doubting that the crippled in Plato's state were to suffer the same fate. To spare the one group and to sacrifice the other is in accord with the law of function. The strictly negative terms in which their lot is indicated may not be merely euphemistic, but possesses the ambiguity of a 'compromise formation,' as it has to cover two cases, the secret conveyance of group (2) to another class, and the exposure of group (3). The *Timaeus* gloss on the first alternative, where secrecy is vital, seems to be *λάθρα*, for it is said there that the rejected children are to be 'secretly' placed out. Now *ἀπορρήτω* is proper to state secrets; *ἀδήλω* suggests the difficulty of tracing a child or retracing an origin, and *κατακρύπτουσι* emphatically means 'to conceal.' Though all these words may contain a darker meaning for one case, that does not exhaust their significance. If *λάθρα* does not refer to this, why is such an individual touch added in a short résumé? It cannot well be disposed of as a mere echo of *λανθάνειν* in 459e, for that covers all the

<sup>1</sup> 450c. Compare the common phrase *τροφή* καὶ *παιδεία*, e.g. 423e, 424a, 451d, noting the force of *ἀποδιδόντες* in the last passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures on the Republic of Plato*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Lycurgi*, XVI. His discussion appears to show the influence of the *Republic*.

arrangements for marriage and birth, whereas 460c and *Timaeus* 19a still further specify the manner in which children unneeded by the *σηκός* are disposed of (see parallelism above). The reason for this secrecy is that faction arises when people are discontented with their station. Further, *λάβρα* cannot refer to the older children who have been found unworthy, for they would remember the place whence they had fallen. Hence they are summarily 'thrust out' without 'pity,'<sup>1</sup> even though they are the sons of those who expel them.

'Aristotle also understood infanticide to be intended,' writes Mr. Adam, 'when, in criticizing Plato's community of children, he wrote, *ἄδηλον γὰρ ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέκνον καὶ σωθῆναι γεγόμενον* (*Pol.* B. 3. 1262a. 5). We have here an argument that it is not possible for guardians to regard each child as 'my child.' It turns on the question, 'Is my son, if I have one, among these whom I am to call "my children," or is he not?' The word *σωθῆναι* is taken to suggest infanticide. But Aristotle certainly did not mean that all rejected children of guardians shared this fate—*ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γιγνόμενα τέκνα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς φύλακας, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους πολλὴν ἔχει παραχλῆν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπος* (*Pol.* B. 4. 1262b. 25). Consequently he understood that there was a regular transference of rejected children to the other classes.<sup>2</sup> This criticism can only apply to the sifting of new-born children (*τὰ γιγνόμενα τέκνα*). We must therefore translate *σωθῆναι* in the light of Aristotle's proved interpretation. If it means 'saved alive,' then the word covers both those who died and the maimed, but no others, and the criticism, though minute, is valid. But the parent's question is much wider. 'Is my son here among my so-called sons?' This is the broad argument from *ἄγνοια*, and Aristotle was probably making it. It is an anachronism to assume that he, any more than Plato, was particularly moved over infanticide.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary he proposed for the maimed exactly the fate that Plato seems to allow.

The sense of the texts is confirmed by Plato's general principle of selection. In choosing the infants, the archons are to be guided by the same considerations as breeders of horses or of dogs. The 'worse' guardians are simply worse in comparison with the latter, but they are superior to other classes.<sup>4</sup> For they have been selected, and, as time goes on, are the offspring of the doubly and trebly sifted. Their children are the marginal products of

<sup>1</sup> This is conclusive against the view that the *Timaeus* refers solely to Book III.

<sup>2</sup> It is not to the point to ask whether Aristotle was justified in supposing that new-born children of other classes were at once admitted to the *σηκός*. All that matters is whether he interpreted Plato like Adam in respect to infanticide, since Adam claims his support. It is clear that he understood the interchange between classes to begin at birth. Since the guardians would supply plenty of physically fit children for the *σηκός*, here is no need to suppose that the offspring of

farmers and artisans were promoted till the education began. This is the inference to make from the *Timaeus* and Book III.

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation gains some support from the parallel phrase in 1288b 20—*ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πῶς ἂν γένοιτο [πολιτεία] καὶ γενομένη τίνα τρόπον ἂν σφύζοιτο πλείστον χρόνον*. Here the word seems to mean, not 'saved from destruction,' but 'preserved in its proper type.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 459a where the animal analogy is explained, the worse being good—*καίπερ ὀντων γενναίων*.



the best class, and are superfluous only because it is limited. The foals a breeder does not retain find their level; most certainly they are not killed. This analogy of the animals does not help the view that Plato sanctioned a wholesale slaughter of children not selected for the fold at birth. The law of utility surely dictates that children not needed as guardians shall be used elsewhere. Usener argues that the *Republic* has no mention of colonization as a means of keeping down surplus population, as in the *Laws* (740), and so must resort to infanticide. This is a desperate argument from the chorizont. The *Laws* prescribes for a city, and emigration is the one way of getting rid of an absolute surplus; but our Book V. legislates only for a limited class within a city, and for new-born infants of that class, so that the overflow can be directed into other groups, though it must not swamp them. This may be one reason why the archons control the number of marriages. It would be not only inhuman but silly if Plato killed off all children that one select class did not want; nor are we obliged to commit him to the absurdity when he himself explains what is done with the sound surplus.

A word may be added about the children of guardians who have passed their prime and are permitted to form free unions. There is no official *τροφή* for such (461c), and their probable destiny was exposure, if they came to birth. But it is instructive to note that the archons took no part in the disposal of these, beyond exhorting the parents to deal with them. This was a relatively private matter and could not endanger the fold.

It is submitted that the *Timaeus* accurately represents the proposals in the *Republic*.<sup>1</sup> Plato neither forgot what he had said,<sup>2</sup> nor changed his mind,<sup>3</sup> nor referred to another book than V.,<sup>4</sup> nor to an earlier edition.<sup>5</sup> His critics have grouped the passages that seemed to point to infanticide instead of asking on what principle Plato made his distinctions. It is clear that Book III. deals with *παιδεία*, and includes the interchange between classes consequent on the revelation of the children's character, while Book V. considers *τροφή* only. Therefore the latter is limited to the original *φύσις* of young guardians, and other questions are not material. Plato has simply answered the question *γενομένους πῶς θρέψουσι*?

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<sup>1</sup> If it is asked why a summary should specify more clearly than its original, the answer lies in the purpose of each passage. Book V. was interested solely in the qualifications admitting infants to the fold, and the clauses dealing with the excluded had to cover more than one case. But the summary had to draw together two passages which showed the distribution of all the children of guardians both at birth and after. Its question is, 'How and where will

any particular child of guardian birth serve the city?'

<sup>2</sup> Jowett. Since the *Timaeus* echoes Book V., Plato could not forget.

<sup>3</sup> Zeller. It is not reasonable to look for a change of mind in a synopsis which is otherwise accurate. A summary ceases to be itself when it contradicts its original.

<sup>4</sup> Adam.

<sup>5</sup> Usener and Brandt.



## NOTES ON OVID'S *TRISTIA* AND *EX PONTO*.

*Tristia* III. 6. 15 sq.:

sed mea me in poenam nimirum *fata* trahebant  
omne bonae *claudens* utilitatis iter.

Thus reads the 'optimus Laurentianus,' and starting hence we shall refuse *claudent*, the facile but incoherent correction of some MSS., and still more the *claudunt* which the majority offer. Nor for all that shall we make the ineptitude of these readings a ground for condemning the pentameter, which, save for its lack of grammatical construction, is perfectly faultless in expression. Turning our attention to the hexameter, we observe that *Parca*, a synonym for *fata* (*Ex Pont.* III. 7. 20 '*Parca*que ad extremum qua mea coepit eat' by *id.* II. 7. 17 sq. '*iam mihi fata* liquet *coeptos* seruantia cursus | per sibi consuetas semper *itura* uias') with *trahebat* will set everything right. The offending *fata* is due to a gloss or an unfortunate reminiscence.

*ib.* 8. 35 sq.:

haeret et ante oculos ueluti spectabile corpus  
astat fortunae forma *legenda* meae.

I am not alone in being unable to understand *legenda*. But Vogel's change to *querenda*, cited by Mr. Owen in his recent edition, is neither easy nor useful. Considering how constantly Ovid insists on the fact that his offence against Augustus cannot be revealed, it is natural to change a single letter and conjecture *tegen*da.

*Ex Ponto* I. 6. 41 sqq. (speaking of the might of Hope, *Spes*, 'Haec dea,' 39):

me quoque conantem gladio finire dolorem  
arguit, iniecta continuitque manu;  
'quid' que 'facis? lacrimis opus est, non sanguine' dixit,  
'saepe per has flecti principis ira solet.'  
quamuis est igitur *meritis indebita nostris*  
*magna* tamen *spes* est in bonitate dei.  
*qui* ne difficilis mihi sit, Graecine, precare.

45

*dei* of course may mean Augustus. But anyone who read the couplet 45 sq. apart from the context would without hesitation regard it as the pious effusion of a Christian pen. The *qui* of 47 may well refer to *principis* 44.

*ib.* II. 7. 23 sq.:

crede mihi, si sum ueri tibi cognitus oris  
nec *planus* nostris casibus esse *potes*.

The tradition of the chief family of MSS. is as above; for the *planis* of the Hamburgensis seems to be a mere accommodation to *nostris*. Ellis and Rothmaler elicited from it *plānus* 'an impostor,' though not agreeing about the preposition, *e* or *in*, to be prefixed to *nostris*. *potes* should of course be *putor*, as Korn saw. But *planus* does not seem to be in keeping with the style of the *Ex Ponto*, which is dignified though querulous: and it may be observed that the Holkham MS. and others have the strange variant *numerus*. I think Ovid may have written *uanus* (which might be confused with the abbreviation of *numerus*): in which case *nostris casibus* would be a simple ablative of cause. While conjecturing this, I would also draw attention to the verbal similarity of this and a passage of Lygdamus which I have discussed in CLASSICAL QUARTERLY VI. p. 42 'quare ego quae dico non fallax accipe uates | quamque deus uero Cynthus ore ferar.'<sup>1</sup> The obligations of Ovid to Lygdamus are not inconsiderable (see the Introduction to my *Selections from Tibullus*, pp. xlvi sqq.), and this parallel is not without its bearing on the reading of the two passages.

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<sup>1</sup> [Tib.] III. 4. 49 sq.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE *RHESVS*.<sup>1</sup>

DR. LEAF's article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has recalled our attention to the venerable problem of the *Rhesus*. I hasten to give my adhesion to his main contention (in which he was partly anticipated by W. Christ) that the play is a *pièce d'occasion* justifying or sanctifying the foundation of the city of Amphipolis. But, as he remarks, seeing that the oracle ordering the removal of the bones of Theseus from Skyros to Athens preceded the actual removal by some years, so this play may be intended to prepare for the actual removal of the bones of Rhesus from Troy by Hagnon, and may be prior to it by several years. For this official theft—doubtless arranged beforehand—we have only the authority of Polyainos' *Strategemata*, but it is a story which seems likely in itself, and goes far to explain the previously obscure lament of the Muse at the end of the play. My object is to examine the play afresh and see whether anything prevents our believing that it was written and exhibited somewhere near 440 B.C., in which case of course it is almost certainly the work of Euripides and not far from his *Cyclops* in date.

The *Didascaliae* assure us that Euripides wrote a play of this name.<sup>2</sup> It appears in our extant MSS. Aristarchus and Crates both support the Euripidean authorship. Later writers quote from it as Euripidean. But the *Argument* informs us that it was held by some to be spurious. This view has been widely held by later scholars. Scaliger speaks of the 'auctor Rhesi uetustissimus qui sine dubio non est Euripides.' Gottfried Hermann attributed it to one of the Alexandrian Pleias. Both he and Spengler regarded the author as a tasteless imitator. Wilamowitz says it is a 'mediocris ingenii fetus,' and written in the age of Demosthenes by a 'plumbeus imitator' of Sophocles. Similarly Bergk had said that it was written by an imitator of Aeschylus between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the time of Alexander the Great, and J. C. Rolfe, in *Harvard Studies* for 1893, concludes that it was written by an Athenian on old lines between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the age of Demosthenes. It has been, with singularly little reason, attributed to Sophocles, and also to the younger Euripides. Of those who have

<sup>1</sup> This paper has been written independently of Mr. W. H. Porter's article in *Hermathena*, 1913. I am glad to find that in all essentials we agree.

<sup>2</sup> The ingenious suggestion has been made to me, that the play was written by Euphorion, son

of Aeschylus, and only by a misreading of the first syllable of the name attributed to Euripides. This seems risky, as the *Didascaliae* have not yet been convicted of error, but it removes all difficulties.



written on it specially in the nineteenth century, Vater, Hartung, Albert adhere to Euripides, Albert, like Christ, regarding it as a youthful work: Eysert contents himself with maintaining that it is not 'ein sprachlich abnormes noch musivisches Machwerk, als welches man es seit Valckenaer und Gottfried Hermann zu betrachten gewohnt war,' and this he has certainly done. Professor Murray has recently assigned it to Euripides' early period, and also shown that it is by no means a bad play as such: he has also shown that the play does not require a fourth actor.

We may first of all, I think, dismiss the Alexandrian hypothesis. Even if we could believe that an Alexandrian would write a play, of which a third was choral, or one which contained a fair proportion of resolved feet (Albert informs us that Lycophron in the *Cassandra* has only seventeen tribrachs or dactyls in 1,474 lines), how improbable it is that the new *Rhesus* could have supplanted the old one after the Alexandrian scholars had begun their work! Still less is it likely that any fourth-century Athenian would dramatize a bit of the *Iliad* and deliberately challenge comparison with an extant work; for our *Rhesus* was certainly extant in the fourth century, or it would not have been provided with two alternative prologues, one of them according to the Argument quoted by Dicaearchus, and the other suggested by Θ 350 and, as the writer remarks, prosy and unworthy of Euripides. In having no prologue this play seems more under the influence of Aeschylus. For the statement of the Argument that it suggests the style of Sophocles I will hazard an explanation later. The play is an effective dramatization of *Iliad* X. It could not move from camp to camp like the Epic, but the scene had necessarily to be laid in one: and so the front of the tent of Hector is chosen. The triumph of Hector at the end of *Iliad* VIII. is assumed; it is true that the fires there mentioned are the watch-fires of the Trojans, but a poet must be allowed some liberty of adaptation, and hence in the opening scene the guards in alarm announce to Hector that the Greek camp is brightly illuminated. Hector at once assumes that the Greeks mean to flee. That is suggested as an alternative by Nestor in K 147, and in K 311 Hector's reason for sending out a spy is to find out whether the Greeks are meditating flight. He sends out Dolon in the play by the prudent advice of Aeneas: there is nothing answering to this in the Epic. Dolon the πολύχρυσος (K 316) says in l. 169 χρυσὸς πάρεστιν, and, as in K 321, asks for the horses of Achilles as his reward. He puts on a wolfskin all over his body in the play, and proposes to crawl like a wolf. This slight departure from Homer is due to the influence of the popular idea about Dolon as reflected on the Attic vases. The horses of Rhesus in K 437 are λευκότεροι χιόνος: this becomes in l. 304 χιόνος ξανγέστεροι. The military word τέλος found in K 470 is utilized in l. 311. Rhesus, who (K 439) has τεύχεα χρύσεια πελώρια, is called ὁ χρυσοτευχής, l. 30. For his Homeric father Eioneus he receives from the poet the river-god Strymon, and Dr. Leaf has told us why. In l. 509, κακῶ δὲ μερμέρῳ παλαιομέν, the poet has even borrowed a typically Epic word, occurring in K 48, 289, 524. Of the five bodies of σύμμαχοι mentioned in

539 sqq. only one does not occur in Dolon's enumeration K 428. In K 420 the ἐπίκουροι are asleep: in l. 691 the φύλακες do not wish to alarm the sleeping σύμμαχοι. In K 509 Athena appears visibly and warns Diomedes to return. She also appears in the play, l. 595, to send them on to the Thracian quarters. As in K 480 Odysseus says to Diomedes 'Untie the horses, or slay the men and I will look after the horses,' so in the play, in which Diomedes adds that each man should do what he is best fitted for. In K 509 and in l. 668 we have the warning of Athena to the heroes to return. The survivor of the massacre in K is called Ἴπποκόων, 'the horse-tender': in the play he is simply the ἡνίοχος of Rhesus (l. 804). The command of Hector in l. 879 to send word τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει Πριάμφ τε καὶ γέρουσι suggests Γ 146. The appearance of the Muse is, as we have seen, non-Homeric. Besides the words μέρμερος and τέλη already mentioned, the play contains such Epic words as πολυπεύω, κορύσσω, μηνίω; such an expression as ἄδην ἐλαύνειν, such a form as δέχθαι, such usages as χρόνον 'for a long time' or ὥστε meaning 'as' with the indicative, and such a phrase as γέννα ἀριστότοκος, obviously an echo of δυσαριστοτόκεια. It is throughout as much a transcript of Homer and of the *Iliad*, as we know it, as a play can be. But it is also a real play, romantic and adventurous; and whereas K is the story of Dolon with Rhesus thrown in, this is the story of Rhesus and how his attempt to make victory incline to the Trojans failed, with Dolon thrown in. The only dramatic justification for Dolon (apart from his occurrence in K) is that he betrays the Trojan watchword to Diomedes, and thus enables Odysseus to escape from a tight corner. One divergence from Homer must be mentioned. In K Odysseus hangs Dolon's spoils on a tree; on the return Diomedes fetches them and gives them to Odysseus, who afterwards stores them in his ship. In the play, l. 591, the two appear both seemingly wearing the spoils of Dolon: or perhaps Diomedes alone wears them, and then Odysseus would be in no danger in the Epiparodos, ll. 674 sqq. The only objection to Professor Murray's effectively dramatic stage directions at lines 598 and 993 is that they involve such a divergence from the Homeric *Quelle* as we do not find elsewhere. The play is a transcript from the Epic; but it is a better play as such than the *Cyclops*, which is almost all we have to compare it with.

Now, it will be well briefly to analyze its diction. The statistics of previous writers are mostly inconclusive, because they only count and do not weigh. A more arbitrary method is more likely to lead to a result. In reading the play I have selected 70 words (exclusive of the Epic borrowings) which arrest attention. Of these 24 are peculiar to the *Rhesus*: 17 are also found in plays of Euripides, 10 in Aeschylus, 4 in Sophocles and Euripides, 4 in Aeschylus and Sophocles, 4 in Aeschylus and Euripides, 6 in Sophocles, and 1 in all three. The largest number, 26, therefore reminds us of Euripides' other plays. Some of these are extremely significant, e.g. θυμέλαι οἴκων, ἀνάκτορα, δυσθνήσκω, the strange form ἐπιζαρέω, the important word φαναί, κρουνός for a jet of blood, διειπετής meaning 'bright,'



φοράδην used as Euripides uses it, and not in the Sophoclean sense, are enough to illustrate the point. At the same time we see, and are not surprised to see, a certain amount of conscious imitation of Aeschylus, in such phrases as φιλαίματοι ἀλκαί, ἀρείφατοι κόποι, πεδοστιβῆς κόπος, and typical Aeschylean words are δυσήλιος, δυσοίξω, μάραγμα, καρανιστής (φόνος; Aeschylus uses καρανιστήρ), δίοπος; along with the Aeschylean νυκτηγορεῖν the *Rhesus* has the noun νυκτηγορία. Any play written as early as 440 must have been subject, one would think, to Aeschylean influence. What are we to say, then, of the statement of the Argument that the play shows the style of Sophocles? It certainly does not do so in the ordinary sense. But it is significant that of the few words reminding one of Sophocles, in Tragedy πωλοδαμνεῖν is only found in the *Rhesus* and the *Ajax*, δεινάζω only in the *Rhesus*, *Ajax*, and *Antigone*. The parallel between this play and the *Ajax* does not seem to have been previously drawn. It is interesting. Both are transcripts from the Epic. Both have their Athenian interest in the honour paid to the hero after death: as Dr. Leaf says, it is inconceivable that any Athenian wrote this play after the loss of Amphipolis. Both have the intervention of Athena on the stage as an ordinary actor. No one can read *Rhesus* 608 without being irresistibly reminded of *Ajax* 14, even allowing for the parallel of K 279. The one passage is certainly suggested by the other. Both plays deal with a massacre, μέρμερα ἔργα. In both—and surely this is important, though there is not a change of scene in the *Rhesus* as in the *Ajax*—the Chorus retires, and there is a straggling and confused Epiparodos. Unfortunately we cannot precisely fix the date of the *Ajax*, but metrical considerations seem to put the two plays very close together. The trimeter is almost exactly alike in both. Both admit tribrachs in the first four feet, dactyls only in the third and first, anapaests only in the first, except that *Ajax* has once with the intractable name Laomedon put an anapaest in the third. There are 65 resolved feet in 1,009 trimeters in the *Ajax*, 65 in 671 in the *Rhesus*; but when we exclude the word πολέμιος from consideration in the latter, the proportion is nearly the same.<sup>1</sup> *Ajax* has 1,009 iambic and 411 lyric lines; *Rhesus* 676 iambic and 320 lyric lines. Both make great use of anapaestic systems. In both there is dialogue in anapaests between the Chorus and an actor. If there are any two plays which from metrical considerations we can put closely together in time, it is surely these. Jebb, after enumerating various arguments to show that the *Ajax* was the earliest extant play of Sophocles, e.g. its Aeschylean type of Parodos, finally decides for the priority of the *Antigone* on the ground that the *Ajax* admits ἀντιλαβή and the *Antigone* does not. The *Rhesus* has ἀντιλαβή in Trochaics. But whether the *Ajax* was written a year or two before or after 442 does not much matter. The author of the *Rhesus* clearly knew the play, and has produced, in some respects, an imitation of it. Perhaps this is the Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ of the Argument.

<sup>1</sup> That 19 out of the 42 dactyls in the third foot are formed by πολέμιος or πόλεμος is a point not considered by Mr. Harrison in his interesting

paper (*C.Q.*, July, 1914). The *Ajax* has 25 dactyls in the third foot.



We come, then, to Professor Murray's result with some confidence. It may well be the work of Euripides' earlier period, when he was about forty. Its shortness connects it with the *Cyclops*, a little shorter, and the *Alcestis*, a little longer. It can hardly have been much tampered with, except by way of omission,<sup>1</sup> on account of its brevity. Now as to the peculiar language of the *Rhesus*. Some of the words are required for the sense—e.g. *δίβαμος* and *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*. But a larger category may be described as military. The author of *K* had a peculiar interest in military equipment: this piqued the author of the *Rhesus* into making his hero also gorgeous and imposing, both himself and his steeds, with bells and trappings galore. Hence such peculiar words (in their usage) as *πλάστιγξ*, *πλήκτρα*, *πόρπακες*, *ἀντηρίδες*, which I will not be tempted into trying to explain. Throughout he tries to express in tragic diction military things: perhaps *δίβολος ἄκων* is simply the Homeric *ἄκοντε δῶν*. *νυχεύειν* and *νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει* may be military phrases: we have as synonyms *ναῶν σταθμά*, *ναύσταθμα*, *ναυκλήρια*. We have also *νεῶν ὄλκοί* and *ὄλκοί ναυστάθμων* for 'the ships drawn up on land.' Note also the use of the *ξύνημα*. No one would have boggled at *πέλτη* (410) for a band of peltasts: why should we attribute a late date to the play because of the *πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη*, particularly when the obnoxious technical word is covered by the Homeric *τέλος*? If the word *πελταστής* first occurs in prose in Thuc. II. 29, is it to be supposed that the next generation to that of those who fell at Drabescus knew nothing of Thracian *πελτασταί*? One might as well say that an Athenian of 440 had never heard of the Thracian *ἄμυστις* (419)! Eysert has shown clearly that the *Rhesus* has no more than its fair share of *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*. According to him it has only  $\frac{1}{18}$ th of the 482 found in Euripides; perhaps, if Euripidean, it ought to have had only  $\frac{1}{16}$ th. But the subject is, as I point out, peculiar in being military, and so to some extent technical. His calculation gives us for the *Phoenissae* 40, *Ion* 36, *Iph. Tau.* 35, *Iph. Aul.* 32, *Bacchae* 31, and *Rhesus* 28. Professor Murray has well pointed out how Euripidean the lament of the Mother is. To me the choruses seem as distinctively Euripidean, though not so elaborate as in his later mode.

I will end with three difficulties. (1) There are two very harsh apopiopeses: 778 οἱ δ' οὐδέν (sc. ἀπεκρίναντο), 861 καὶ ταῦτ' Ὀδυσσεύς (sc. ἐποίησε). Can any one supply a parallel? (2) The word *σοφιστής* occurs twice, in 924 and 949. Leaf translates 'I will call in no other skilled pleader to speak on my behalf,' finding an allusion to the debates on the proposed colony in the Ecclesia. Professor Murray translates 'wizard' in 924, and (after Bothe) 'mourner' in 949. Paley sees that the word *σοφιστής* must have substantially the same sense in both places, but he is wrong in translating 'I will take care not to bring into Athens any more teachers of religion and art.' The Muse is not Athenian. The thought is 'My connexion with the musician Thamyris

<sup>1</sup> The revision for acting purposes may have cut out some of the astronomical passages to which the author of the *Argument* appears to

allude. The prologue quoted by Dicaearchus may have been Euripidean; but if so, why was it dropped?

(cf. Aesch. *Frag.* 314 for this use of σοφιστής) led to the birth of Rhesus. Our generosity to Pallas in the benefits conferred through Orpheus and Musaeus has been basely rewarded by the death of Rhesus. I am not going to bring down on my head another musician.' (3) Was the play, as Dindorf, Spengler, Murray think, pro-Satyrical? This would account for its brevity. But though there is thrill and sensation enough in it, there is nothing comic, not even when Odysseus escapes by giving the pass-word. I am not very certain about it, but I am inclined to think with Rolfe that the ending points on to another Trojan War play (977), in which the death of Achilles took place and Thetis mourned her son. This might have been the concluding play of a Trojan Trilogy. But apart from the fact that the deaths of Hector and Paris are prophesied in ll. 607 and 635, the confident words of Hector and the more dubious response of the Chorus, with which the play ends, suggest that the death of Hector took place in the second of the series.

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## CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA'S *PROTREPTICVS* AND THE *PHAEDRVS* OF PLATO.

A VERY slight reading of Clement of Alexandria is enough to prove how deeply he is indebted to Plato both in respect of language and of thought. Quotations from Plato are to be found throughout Clement's works, and in many cases acknowledgment is made of their origin. In addition there are frequent allusions, which for the most part the student of Plato can easily recognize. Clement invariably shows a profound respect for the Greek philosopher, whom he looks upon as a seeker after truth and as an authority, we may almost say, second only to the Scriptures. A careful comparison of the *Protrepticus* with the *Phaedrus*, results of which are given below, will furnish a striking illustration of the close dependence of Clement upon Plato. The *Protrepticus* is a short work, occupying in space not more than one-twelfth of Clement's extant writings, while the *Phaedrus* is even smaller in proportion to the whole of Plato. It is remarkable that so much inter-connexion should be found in so small a field, especially when we remember that the references to the *Phaedrus* represent by no means the whole of Clement's drawing upon Plato in the *Protrepticus*. There are allusions also to the *Theaetetus*, *Republic*, *Charmides*, *Laws* and *Epistles*, and possibly to the *Politicus*, *Cratylus*, *Philebus*, *Symposium* and *Apology*.

I. *General resemblances of the two works in diction or subject-matter.* The paragraphs are placed in the order in which the passages referred to occur in the *Protrepticus*.

The *Protrepticus* begins with the story of Eunomus, a Locrian minstrel, who was competing at the Pythian festival. His music attracted a cicada, which flew on to the neck of the lyre; and when a string broke, Eunomus was able to continue his song by playing in harmony with the cicada's chirruping. The cicadas are of course an essential part of the legend; but Clement, in describing the scene, seems to have had in mind the opening pages of the *Phaedrus*. For instance, he speaks of the time, ὥρα καύματος, p. 3, l. 12 (2),<sup>1</sup> at the time of heat, i.e. the hottest part of a summer's day, when the cicadas would be busiest with their song. This corresponds with Plato's τήνδε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους τε καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας (229 A), i.e. midday in summer, as we learn in 242 A. Clement goes on as follows: ὀπηνίκα οἱ τέττιγες ὑπὸ τοῖς πετάλοις

<sup>1</sup> The references are to page and line of Stählin's edition of Clement, vol. i. The figures in parentheses refer to Potter's pages. The text of Plato is taken from Burnet's Oxford edition.



ἦδον ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη θερόμενοι ἡλίῳ, with which we may compare *Ph.* 230 C *θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηχεῖ τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ*, and 258 E *ἐν τῷ πνίγει ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν οἱ τέττιγες ἄδοντες*. In 259 B-D Plato relates the legend about the origin of cicadas. They were once men, who so loved the Muses' song that they forgot to eat and drink and at last died. Being changed at death into cicadas, they still retain their love of music. Clement's Eunomus-legend clearly has some distant connexion with this, a connexion which enabled him to use in his description the scenery of the *Phaedrus*.

For *φάρμακον* *πειθοῦς* (retaining the MS. reading as against Reinkens' *πένθους*) p. 4, l. 21 (3), compare *Ph.* 230 D *τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξόδου τὸ φάρμακον*. We have here a similarity both in the sense of *φάρμακον* and in the kind of genitive. 'A spell to persuade.' 'The spell to bring me out.' See also *Ph.* 275 A *οὐκουν μνήμης ἀλλὰ ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον*.

In *Ph.* 230 A Socrates, excusing himself from mythological investigations, says that he has enough to do to enquire about himself—*εἴτε τι θηρίον ὃν τυγχάνω . . . εἴτε ἡμερώτερόν τε καὶ ἀπλούστερον ζῶον, θείας τινὸς . . . μοίρας φύσει μετέχον*. Clement, *Protr.* p. 5, ll. 7-8 (4), calls men by the name *θηρία*, and states that they have been tamed by the heavenly Minstrel, the Word. This is primarily in allusion to Orpheus (p. 3, l. 6), but there is quite possibly a reminiscence also of the *Phaedrus*. See especially *Protr.* 5, ll. 23-24 (4), *ταῦτα τὰ ἀγριώτατα θηρία . . . ἡ οὐράνιος ᾧδὴ αὐτὴ μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡμέρους*, and compare *ἡμερώτερον* quoted above.

*Ph.* 244 B-C. Socrates affirms that *μανία* signifies something good, for the ancients employed this word as a root for their name of the highest art, that of prophecy. *μανική* is therefore the right word for prophecy, and the 'τ' in *μαντική* is a tasteless addition of later ages. Clement uses this similarity in order to cry down the prophetic oracles. *Protr.* p. 10, ll. 27-28 (10), *διήγησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς, τὰ ἄχρηστα χρηστήρια*. Word-play is a familiar feature in Clement's writing, and he was well able to discover for himself the *μαντική-μανική* jingle; but when we know that the *Phaedrus* was often quoted by him, we need have no hesitation in tracing this passage to the *Phaedrus* source.

Agra, where the lesser mysteries were celebrated, is mentioned in *Protr.* p. 25, l. 21 (29), and also in *Ph.* 229 C.

In *Protr.* p. 28, l. 15 (32), Clement quotes from *Odyssey* XIX. 163 *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς εἰσι (ἐσσι in Homer) παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*. He uses the line to illustrate his argument that the gods are not eternally existent beings, but simply dead men. Clement often quotes Homer, and we cannot doubt that he knew well both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The phrase, too, about the 'oak and

rock' was a proverbial phrase which might easily have been used by any Greek writer. Still, when we bear in mind the other correspondences here noted, it is worthy of mention that *δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας ἀκούειν* occurs in *Ph.* 275 B.

*Ph.* 241 C *χρὴ . . . εἰδέναι τὴν ἐραστοῦ φιλίαν ὅτι οὐ μετ' εὐνοίας γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ σιτίου τρόπον, χάριν πλησμονῆς, ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπῶσιν, ὡς παῖδα φιλοῦσιν ἐρασταί.* Compare with this *Protr.* p. 31, ll. 5-7 (35), *εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ εἰσὶ φύλακες οὗτοι (οἱ δαίμονες), οὐκ εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περιπαθεῖς, τῆς δὲ ὑμεδαπῆς ἀπωλείας ἐχόμενοι, κολάκων δίκην ἐγχρίμπτονται τῷ βίῳ, δελεαζόμενοι καπνῷ.* Although these passages deal with different subjects, and have only one word (*εὐνοία*) in common, I cannot help thinking that there is a connexion between them. Clement would have been quick to notice the similarity between the lover who loved for what he could get, and daemons who pretended to be saviours but were really destroyers of human life.

*Ph.* 242 D *τὸν Ἑρωτα οὐκ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ θεόν τινα ἡγή;* 242 E *θεὸς ἢ τι θεῖον ὁ Ἑρως.* 252 B *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πάθος . . . ἀνθρωποὶ μὲν ἔρωτα ὀνομάζουσιν.* There is, I think, a clear allusion in the *Protrepticus* to the whole discussion about *ἔρως*, which occupies a large part of the *Phaedrus*. Clement takes the word in its lowest sense, for which indeed he has full warrant in the *Phaedrus* itself. The passage in which Clement seems to have this subject specially in mind is p. 33, ll. 27-31 (38), *ἀμέλει τὸν Ἑρωτα τοῦτον (this Eros) τὸν ἐν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις<sup>1</sup> τῶν θεῶν εἶναι λεγόμενον ἐτίμα πρότερον οὐδὲ εἰς πρὶν ἢ Χάρμον μεράκιόν τι ἐλεῖν καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἐν Ἀκαδημία χαριστήριον ἐπιτελοῦς γενομένης ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀσέλγειαν Ἑρωτα κεκλήκασι, θεοποιούντες ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν.* With *τῆς νόσου* we may compare *νοσεῖν*, which is frequently used with the same meaning in the *Phaedrus*. Clement is not, however, unmindful of the higher sense of *ἔρως*, for he mentions it in p. 82, ll. 23-25 (90): *ὁ γέ τοι οὐράνιος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως ἔρως ταύτῃ προσγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῇ πού τῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ὄντως καλὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἀναξωπυρούμενον ἐκλάμπειν δυνήθῃ.* The connexion of *τὸ ὄντως καλόν* with *ἔρως* makes the allusion to the *Phaedrus* practically certain.

As a small additional point it may be noticed that after Clement's reference to *ἔρως* in p. 33, ll. 27-31 (quoted above), he goes on to ridicule Pan, on account of his not having been known to the Athenians before the time of Philippiades. In another place he gives an absurd account of the origin of the Muses: p. 23, ll. 8-20 (27). Now Socrates in the *Phaedrus* offers two prayers, one at the beginning of his speech, to the Muses (237 A), and the other at the end of the dialogue, to Pan (279 B-C).

The love of Zeus for Ganymede is mentioned in *Protr.* p. 38, ll. 7-8 (43), and in *Ph.* 255 C.

The contrast between madness and sober wisdom provides another point of contact between the *Protrepticus* and the *Phaedrus*. Cp. *Ph.* 245 A *ὅς*

<sup>1</sup> This phrase seems to come from Plato, *Symposium* 178A; 180B.

δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκεται . . . ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἢ τοῦ σωφρονούντος ἠφανίσθη. Clement would have had little sympathy with this 'divine madness.' See *Protr.* p. 48, ll. 25-27 (55), μὴν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, καταφυγὴ τῇ μέλλοντι ἐπὶ τὰς σωτηρίους ἀφικνεῖσθαι θύρας ὑπολείπεται σοφία θεϊκή. Note also the substitution of 'gates of salvation' for 'gates of poetry.'

*Ph.* 237 C. Plato says that there are in us two ruling and guiding principles, ἡ μὲν ἔμφυτος οὖσα ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κτήτος δόξα, ἐφιεμένη τοῦ ἀρίστου. Compare with this *Protr.* p. 70, ll. 4-6 (77), ἐχρῆν μὲν ὑμῖς, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐννοουμένους τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἔμφυτον ἐπάγεσθαι πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεον αὐτόθεν οἴκοθεν, περιφανῶς αἱρουμένην τὸ βέλτιστον. If I am not mistaken, Clement is here referring definitely to the *Phaedrus*. The 'instinct' (perhaps the best equivalent for πίστις in this sentence) which chooses what is best is a thing not merely 'acquired,' but 'implanted.' Other words which help to establish a connexion between these two passages and their contexts are σκέψις 237 D, cp. ἐπισκέψασθαι, σκέψεως, p. 70, ll. 8, 9, 12 (77): σωφροσύνη 237 E, cp. σωφρονήσητε p. 70, l. 13 (77): ὕβρις 238 A, cp. ὑβριστέον, ὕβρει p. 70, ll. 9, 14 (77): μέθας 238 B, cp. μεθυστέον, μεθύετε, μέθη p. 70, ll. 8, 9, 13 (77).

The 'wings of the soul' are frequently mentioned in the *Phaedrus*, e.g. 246 E τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πτέρωμα. 248 C ἡ τοῦ πτεροῦ φύσις. 248 E οὐ γὰρ πτεροῦται (ἢ ψυχῇ) πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου. 249 A πτερωθεῖσαι (ψυχαί). 249 C μόνῃ πτεροῦται ἡ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διάνοια. See also 249 D and 251 B. Clement alludes to these passages in p. 76, ll. 9-10 (83), πτερώσαι προήρηται (ὁ θεὸς) τοὺς γηγενεῖς.

In *Ph.* 252 C-D Plato speaks of different classes of men who follow in the train of different gods, of whom Zeus and Ares are quoted as examples. He then goes on: καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἕκαστον θεόν, οὗ ἕκαστος ἦν χορευτής, ἐκείνους τιμῶν τε καὶ μιμούμενος εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ζῇ. That is, men are both worshippers and imitators of the particular god to whom their allegiance is paid. Clement has a sentence in the *Protrepticus* which looks like an intentional contrast with this. See p. 82, ll. 20-21 (90), λῶφον οὖν καὶ ἄμεινον τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μιμητὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενέσθαι. These words certainly gain in point and meaning if we think of Clement as substituting 'the highest existence of all' for Plato's Zeus and Ares. For an example of a similar substitution see, in Sec. II. of this paper, the quotation from *Protr.* p. 86, l. 21 (95), and the *Phaedrus* parallel.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same adaptation of Platonic phraseology may be seen elsewhere in Clement, e.g. vol. iii. (Stählin), p. 164, l. 12 (939), in the *Quis dīnes*

*salvetur*: τὸν θεὸν τὸν . . . ζωῆς αἰωνίου ταμίαν, compared with *Refut.* 379 E ταμίαν ἡμῶν θεὸς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.



It is possible that Clement's ἀγναῖς ὕλαις σύσκιον, p. 84, l. 9 (92), harks back to τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον, *Ph.* 230 B. For the connexion in thought between ἀγνός and ἄγνος see Liddell and Scott s.v. ἄγνος. σύσκιος is an uncommon word.

The illustration of the charioteer (*Ph.* 246 B) is used by Clement also, with clear indications of its Platonic origin. The entire passages concerned must be studied in order to become fully aware how thoroughly Clement has read his Plato; but the main points of similarity can be shown by quotations. *Ph.* 246 B καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ ἄρχων συνωρίδος ἡνιοχέι. The charioteer is here the ruling principle of man's nature. Clement transfers the metaphor to Christ: *Protr.* p. 85, l. 18 (93), καλὸν ἡνίοχον ἀνθρώπων τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπήσωμεν· τὸν πῶλον ὑποζύγιον ἤγαγε σὺν τῷ παλαιῷ· καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν συνωρίδα καταξεύξας, εἰς ἀθανασίαν κατιθύνει τὸ ἄρμα. (For ἄρμα see *Ph.* 246 E ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα.) In another place it is Christians who are the true guides of life: *Protr.* p. 66, ll. 23-24 (73), ἀπεφεύγετε τοὺς λόγους, ἀποσείσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἡνιόχους ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ἡμᾶς ἐπιποθοῦντες.

In *Ph.* 256 B Plato describes how souls who have lived virtuously on earth become after death victors in 'one of the three truly Olympian contests': τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἐν νενικήκασιν. Compare this with *Protr.* p. 85, ll. 21-23 (93), where Clement speaks of Christ πρότερον μὲν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, νῦν δὲ εἰσελαύνων οὐρανοὺς, κάλλιστον θέαμα τῷ πατρὶ υἱὸς αἰδῖος νικηφόρος. The association of νικηφόρος with ἐλαύνειν and ἄρμα (l. 21) makes it clear that the metaphor is drawn from the Greek chariot-race. The use of this metaphor is suggested to Clement in the first place by S. Matt. xxi. 5, but there can be little doubt that Plato's 'true Olympian victor' is also in his mind. I take it that by ἐν τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων Plato means the chariot-race, as he is here comparing the soul to a chariot with its driver and horses.

*Ph.* 231 D αὐτοὶ (οἱ ἐρώντες) ὁμολογοῦσι νοσεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονεῖν, where νοσεῖν = κακῶς φρονεῖν. See also 244 A ὁ μὲν μαίνεται, ὁ δὲ σωφρονεῖ. Also 244 D κάλλιον μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ μανίαν σωφροσύνης τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων γυγνομένης. Compare Clement in p. 86, ll. 4-5 (94), οὐ δὴ οὖν ἀμφιβάλλειν αἰρεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὁπότερον αὐτοῖν ἄμεινον, σωφρονεῖν ἢ μεμηνέναι.

## II. Phrases or Sentences occurring in both works:

*Protr.* p. 3, ll. 8-9 (2), ἄλλον τούτοις ἀδελφὸν . . . μῦθον. *Ph.* 238 B, τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά: 276 A, ἄλλον ὁρῶμεν λόγον, τούτου ἀδελφόν: 276 D, ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά.

*Protr.* p. 7, ll. 19-20 (7), ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἷτιος ἀγαθῶν. *Ph.* 266 B, μεγίστων αἷτιον ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν.

*Protr.* p. 20, l. 10 (23), ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος. *Ph.* 276 A, λόγον λέγεις ζῶντα καὶ ἔμφυχον.

*Protr.* p. 24, l. 30 (28), εἰκόνα πορνείας ἐν αργῇ. *Ph.* 250 D, ἐν αργῆς εἶδωλον (φρονήσεως).

*Protr.* p. 29, l. 17 (33), παρὰ φύσιν δὲ θηρεύει ἡδονὴν οὐδὲ ἐν (θηρίον). *Ph.* 250 E, παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὴν διώκων.

*Protr.* p. 44, ll. 10-11 (50), τὸν ὑπερουράνιον βλασφημήσαντες τόπον. *Ph.* 247 C, τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον.

*Protr.* p. 51, ll. 10-12 (58), καὶ πολὺς μοι ἐπιρρεῖ τοιοῦτος ὄχλος, οἷον εἰ μορμώ τινα, δαιμονίων παρεισάγων ξένων ἄτοπον σκιαγραφίαν, μυθολογῶν ὕθλῳ γραϊκῷ. *Ph.* 229 D, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν Ἰπποκενταύρων εἶδος ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, καὶ αὖθις τὸ τῆς Χιμαίρας, καὶ ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ὄχλος τοιοῦτων Γοργόνων καὶ Πηγάσων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμηχάνων πλήθη τε καὶ ἀτοπίαι τερατολόγων τιῶν φύσεων.

*Protr.* p. 51, ll. 21-23 (58), τοῖς ὄντως πεπλανημένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου ταύτης ἀστρολογίας, οὐκ ἀστρονομίας, μετεωρολογοῦσα καὶ ἀδολεσχούσα (ἢ φιλοσοφία). *Ph.* 269 E, 270 A, πᾶσαι ὅσαι μεγάλαι τῶν τεχνῶν προσδέονται ἀδολεσχίας καὶ μετεωρολογίας φύσεως πέρι.

*Protr.* p. 52, l. 2 (59), ξὺν μοι λαβοῦ τῆς ζητήσεως τὰγαθοῦ πέρι. *Ph.* 237 A, ξὺμ μοι λάβεςθε τοῦ μύθου.

*Protr.* p. 52, l. 6 (59), περὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. *Ph.* 247 B, ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ.

*Protr.* p. 58, l. 26 (65), γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ. *Ph.* 243 B, γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ.

*Protr.* p. 66, l. 20 (73), ἀγαθὸν τοσοῦτον, οὗ μείζον οὐδὲν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδωρηταί πω τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσει.<sup>1</sup> *Ph.* 256 B, οὗ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτε σωφροσύνη ἀνθρωπίνη οὔτε θεία μανία δυνατὴ πορίσαι ἀνθρώπῳ.

*Protr.* p. 66 l. 23 (73), τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἐνδακόντες.<sup>2</sup> *Ph.* 254 D, ἐνδακὼν τὸν χαλινόν.

*Protr.* p. 68, l. 5 (75), οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖν. *Ph.* 246 B, οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ.

*Protr.* p. 70, ll. 5-6 (77), πίστιν . . . αἰρουμένην τὸ βέλτιστον. *Ph.* 232 A, τὸ βέλτιστον . . . αἰρεῖσθαι.

*Protr.* p. 70, l. 23 (77), οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν ἡμῖν τὸ ἄθλον ἀθανασία πρόκειται. *Ph.* 256 D, οὐ σμικρὸν ἄθλον τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μανίας φέρονται.

*Protr.* p. 72, ll. 20-21 (79), ὁ μὲν ἄπυστος τοῦ λόγου συγγνώμην τῆς πλάνης ἔχει τὴν ἄγνοιαν. *Ph.* 233 C, τῶν μὲν ἀκουσίων συγγνώμην ἔχων: 257 A, τῶν προτέρων τε συγγνώμην καὶ τῶνδε χάριν ἔχων.

*Protr.* p. 83, l. 24 (91), παράπλει τὴν ῥῆδην (τῶν Σειρήνων). *Ph.* 259 A, ἐὰν δὲ ὀρώσι (οἱ τέττιγες ἄδοντες) . . . παραπλέοντάς σφας ὥσπερ Σειρήνας.

<sup>1</sup> For a closer parallel to this passage, see *Timaeus* 47 B.

(*Quis diues saluetur*) vol. iii. p. 189, l. 3, Stählin (1959).

<sup>2</sup> τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακὼν occurs also in Clement

*Protr.* p. 85, l. 24 (93), τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέγιστα: p. 86, l. 25 (95), τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. *Ph.* 244 A, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν: 263 C, μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

*Protr.* p. 86, l. 10 (94), κοινὰ τὰ φίλων.<sup>1</sup> *Ph.* 279 C, κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

*Protr.* p. 86, ll. 13-14 (94), ὦρα οὖν ἡμῖν μόνον τὸν θεοσεβῆ εἰπεῖν πλούσιον.<sup>1</sup> *Ph.* 279 B-C, πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν.

*Protr.* p. 86, l. 21 (95), τῶν Χριστοῦ ὁπαδῶν. *Ph.* 252 C, τῶν Διὸς ὁπαδῶν.

III. *List of words used in both works.* Quite common words are in most cases excluded from this list, as well as all words dealt with in the passages above mentioned:

μῦθος ('legend' or 'myth'), *Protr.* p. 3, l. 4 (1), p. 3, l. 9 (2), etc., *Ph.* 237 A, etc.; χορδή, *Protr.* p. 3, l. 16 (2), *Ph.* 268 E; φρόνησις, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 8 (3), *Ph.* 250 D; χορός, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 9 (3), etc., *Ph.* 247 A, etc.; ἀποστίλβειν, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 10 (3), *Ph.* 250 D (στίλβειν); σκότος, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 11 (3), *Ph.* 256 D; κυλινδεῖσθαι, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 11 (3), *Ph.* 257 A; ἀνακύπτειν, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 13 (3), *Ph.* 249 C; ἀγωνιστής, *Protr.* p. 4, ll. 15-16 (3), *Ph.* 269 D; πειθῶ, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 21 (3), *Ph.* 270 B; ὀργάζειν, *Protr.* p. 4, l. 25 (4), *Ph.* 250 C, etc.; ζηλοῦν, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 10 (5), etc., *Ph.* 233 B; ἄψυχος, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 12 (5), etc., *Ph.* 245 E; ἀποτρέπειν, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 19 (6), etc., *Ph.* 231 D, etc.; παναρμόνιος, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 24 (6), *Ph.* 277 C; ὄργανον, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 26 (6), *Ph.* 250 B; παιδεύειν, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 31 (6), etc., *Ph.* 245 A; νουθετεῖν, *Protr.* p. 6, l. 32 (6), *Ph.* 249 D; κτᾶσθαι, *Protr.* p. 8, l. 23 (8), *Ph.* 240 A; ἄπαις, *Protr.* p. 9, l. 35 (9), *Ph.* 240 A; νᾶμα, νάματα, *Protr.* p. 10, l. 25 (10), *Ph.* 235 D, 278 B; θηρεύειν, *Protr.* p. 12, l. 4 (12), *Ph.* 262 C; φυγὰς, *Protr.* p. 15, l. 16 (16), *Ph.* 241 B; πείρα, *Protr.* p. 17, l. 13 (19), *Ph.* 272 C; ἀμαθία, *Protr.* p. 18, l. 20 (21), *Ph.* 235 C; κοσμεῖσθαι, *Protr.* p. 21, l. 4 (24), *Ph.* 239 D; γαστριμαργία, *Protr.* p. 31, l. 8 (35), *Ph.* 238 B; τοπάξειν, *Protr.* p. 32, l. 15 (37), *Ph.* 228 D; ἀναπλάττειν, ('to imagine, or invent, gods'), *Protr.* p. 33, l. 26 (38), *Ph.* 246 C (πλάττειν); ἐρώμενος, *Protr.* p. 38, l. 6 (43), *Ph.* 231 B, etc.; ὄστρεον, *Protr.* p. 40, l. 2 (45), *Ph.* 250 C; προοίμιον, *Protr.* p. 41, l. 15 (47), *Ph.* 266 D; ὑπολείπεσθαι, *Protr.* p. 41, l. 27 (47), *Ph.* 231 B; ἰσόθεος, *Protr.* p. 42, l. 19 (48), *Ph.* 258 C; βρίθειν, *Protr.* p. 43, l. 27 (49), *Ph.* 247 B; ζωγραφία, *Protr.* p. 45, l. 7 (51), *Ph.* 275 D; οἶστρος, *Protr.* p. 45, l. 20 (51), *Ph.* 240 D; θέα, *Protr.* p. 48, l. 20 (55), *Ph.* 248 B, etc.; μυθολογεῖν, *Protr.* p. 51, l. 11 (58), *Ph.* 276 E; ἀπορροή, *Protr.* p. 52, l. 4 (59) (ἀπόρροια), *Ph.* 251 B; ἀγέννητος, *Protr.* p. 52, l. 5 (59), *Ph.* 245 D; γεωμετρία, *Protr.* p. 53, l. 13 (60), *Ph.* 274 D; παλινῳδία, *Protr.* p. 56, l. 16 (63), *Ph.* 243 B, etc.; δυσωπεῖν, *Protr.* p. 57, l. 14 (64), *Ph.* 242 C; προφήτης,<sup>2</sup> *Protr.* p. 59, l. 16 (66), *Ph.* 244 A; Σίβυλλα,<sup>2</sup> *Protr.* p. 59, l. 16 (66), *Ph.* 244 B; ἐνθές,<sup>2</sup> *Protr.* p. 59,

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that these two passages occur quite near the end of the *Protrepticus*, and their parallels at the end of the *Phaedrus*.

<sup>2</sup> These words occur in close connexion in each work.



l. 26 (66), *Ph.* 244 B (ἐνθεος); αἰτιᾶσθαι, *Protr.* p. 61, l. 30 (68), *Ph.* 262 D; χαρίζεσθαι, *Protr.* p. 63, l. 4 (69), *Ph.* 237 B, etc.; κρίσις, *Protr.* p. 63, l. 15 (70), *Ph.* 249 A; ἀναπεπταμένος, *Protr.* p. 63, l. 31 (70), *Ph.* 240 E; πλανᾶσθαι, *Protr.* p. 64, l. 9 (70), etc., *Ph.* 263 B; ἀπεικάζειν, *Protr.* p. 65, l. 1 (71), *Ph.* 270 E; ἐκπλήττειν, *Protr.* p. 65, l. 11 (71), p. 77, l. 5 (84), *Ph.* 234 D, 255 B; καρποῦσθαι, *Protr.* p. 66, ll. 2-3 (72), *Ph.* 240 A; ἐξιχνεύειν, *Protr.* p. 67, l. 27 (74), *Ph.* 252 E (ἰχνεύειν); ἐπιγίγνεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> *Protr.* p. 67, l. 32 (74), *Ph.* 245 A; ἵχνος, *Protr.* p. 68, l. 6 (75), *Ph.* 276 D; ῥεύμα, *Protr.* p. 68, l. 8 (75), *Ph.* 255 C; ἐξελέγχειν, *Protr.* p. 68, l. 14 (75), *Ph.* 235 B; ἀστεῖος, *Protr.* p. 68, l. 26 (75), *Ph.* 227 D; αὐτόθεν, *Protr.* p. 70, l. 6 (77), *Ph.* 242 C; πρόκειται, *Protr.* p. 70, l. 23 (77), *Ph.* 237 C, etc.; ἄγαλμα, *Protr.* p. 71, l. 22 (78), etc., *Ph.* 251 A; ἀνανήφειν, *Protr.* p. 72, l. 35 (80), *Ph.* 240 E (νήφειν); ἀναπνοή, *Protr.* p. 73, l. 7 (80), *Ph.* 251 E; φθέγγεσθαι, *Protr.* p. 75, l. 1 (82), *Ph.* 241 E; στέρεσθαι, *Protr.* p. 75, l. 11 (82), *Ph.* 239 A; κατεπάδειν, *Protr.* p. 75, l. 28 (83), *Ph.* 267 D (ἐπάδειν); αἰδώς, *Protr.* p. 76, l. 26 (84), *Ph.* 253 D; κόλαξ, *Protr.* p. 77, l. 4 (84), *Ph.* 240 B; γαργαλίζειν, *Protr.* p. 77, l. 29 (85), *Ph.* 251 C; ἐπιλάμπειν, *Protr.* p. 78, l. 9 (85), etc., *Ph.* 250 D (λάμπειν); θεραπεύειν, *Protr.* p. 82, l. 22 (90), *Ph.* 233 B; βακχεύειν, *Protr.* p. 84, l. 1 (92), *Ph.* 234 D (συμβακχεύειν), 245 A (ἐμβακχεύειν); ἀναβλέπειν, *Protr.* p. 84, l. 20 (92), *Ph.* 243 B; ἐποπτεύειν, *Protr.* p. 84, l. 24 (92), etc., *Ph.* 250 C; μυεῖσθαι, *Protr.* p. 84, l. 25 (92), etc., *Ph.* 250 C; ὀλόκληρον, *Protr.* p. 85, l. 3 (93), *Ph.* 250 C; ζυγός, *Protr.* p. 85, l. 17 (93), *Ph.* 246 A (ζεῦγος); φιλότιμος, *Protr.* p. 85, l. 23 (93), *Ph.* 256 C; παῦλα,<sup>2</sup> *Protr.* p. 86, l. 26 (95), *Ph.* 245 C.

The parallels given above are enough to show that Clement knew the *Phaedrus* intimately. There is not a single direct quotation such as would be obtained from a book of extracts, but a continuous series of casual allusions to words, phrases and topics; just the thing, in fact, which we might find in a modern English writer with respect to the Bible or Shakespeare. It betrays a familiarity born of affection. Clement does, of course, make use of many writers whose works he only knew, or only cared to know, in fragments. But when he is engaged in quoting from these his style often becomes lifeless, and sometimes degenerates into a mere catalogue of authorities. It will be noticed that the above list of words shows some large gaps between pages 10 and 40 (Stählin). These are the pages in which Clement describes the mysteries, the games, the gods and daemons and their statues; and in them are references to a host of minor authors. If we turn, however, to the first ten or the last twenty-five pages of the book, where Clement's natural eloquence has freer course, we find the Platonic influence everywhere apparent. He uses the language of Plato as unconsciously as he uses that of the Scriptures; and it need hardly be said that when he writes under these two influences he is at his very best.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

<sup>1</sup> Stählin writes [ἐπι]γεγονότας here; wrongly, as I think the *Phaedrus* parallel will show. The meaning in both cases is, 'coming into existence later.'

<sup>2</sup> There is a connexion of sense, as well as of word, in the two passages which contain παῦλα. In both the idea is παῦλα ἰωῆς.

## VARVS AND VARIVS.

THESE are not two adjectives. They are two men—or, rather, two shadows. If I said that they were two names I should be speaking inexactly. The name of Varus occurs five times in Vergil: and twice (*Ecl.* VI. 12, IX. 35) out of these five times the oldest Latin MSS. which we possess have confounded it with that of Varius. In the *Vitae Vergilianae*, recently edited with an adequate Apparatus Criticus, the names Varus and Varius are found, I think, twenty-eight times; and twenty-two times out of these twenty-eight all, or most, of our MSS. have confused them—and that though in thirteen cases we are dealing with codices of saec. IX.-X. The same names occur four times in Quintilian, and in one case all, in another all the respectable, MSS. have got them wrong. They occur thrice in Martial—twice right, once wrong. I have selected these particular writers for a reason that will appear later. But the MSS. of Horace tell a like tale.

Whither, then, shall a man turn, and in what put his trust, when even MSS. of the fourth century fail him, and the ninth century is as dissolute as the fifteenth? For I would fain know who wrote the tragedy *Thyestes*—a drama which the best critics of antiquity ranked with the finest creations of the Greek genius. From a boy I had been taught to associate this tragedy with the name of Varius; and when I became a man I continued in the faith of my childhood, and taught others these same things. Until one day there befel me what happens to elderly clergymen. I found myself saying, in discourses which I had no time to re-write, things of which I no longer had assurance. But having—save indolence—no motive for continuing in an intolerable situation, I at length determined to be fair with my own soul and with Varius, and to enquire how far my faith squared, not with the histories of Latin Literature, but with the presumed sources of those histories.

I began in a very natural and obvious fashion. I asked myself, Who is the first person who mentions the *Thyestes*? and 'It would be strange,' I said, 'if Horace, who so often mentions Varius, says nothing of the *Thyestes*.' Let us see. In the *Odes* (I. 6, 1-2) Varius is the 'bird of Maeonian song' associated in the minds of all of us from our schooldays with a notable grammatical solecism. Varius is an epic poet; and wherever else Horace mentions him, it is as an epic poet, or at any rate in company with epic poets. *Sat.* I. 10, 43-4 is significant:

forte epos acer  
ut nemo Varius ducit.

Not a word about Varius' tragedy. But worse than that. Varius is mentioned here not only as an epic poet, but as the epic poet *par excellence*: while in the very sentence before Pollio is mentioned as the tragic poet *par excellence*—as though Ben Jonson, say, had left it on record that Marlowe was the prince of tragedians; but for sonnets one must go to Shakespeare. Nor do I think that the chagrin, which might well be forgiven here to Varius, was much likely to be appeased if he had turned from *Sat.* I. 10, 43-4 to *Ars Poetica* 90-91, where 'The Banquet of Thyestes,' Horace writes, 'resents a narration in bourgeois (*privatis*) verse about fit for the comic stage.' The author of Rome's greatest tragedy could hardly have read that without some feeling of uneasiness. (A *Thyestes* of Varius could not have been unknown to Horace, had it ever existed: for Varius was already dead when Horace wrote II. *Epp.* III. 55.)

Horace died near the close of the first century B.C., never having mentioned the *Thyestes* of Varius, and that though 'The Epistle to the Pisos' is—for whatever reason—mainly concerned with tragedy. Nor for nearly a century does any writer, save one, speak anywhere of the *Thyestes*. About the middle of the first century A.D. the anonymous 'Epistle to Piso,' usually cited as the *Laus Pisonis*, makes mention of the *Thyestes*—or, rather, of its author, who is called, not Varius, but Varus:

Maecenas tragico quatientem pulpita gestu<sup>1</sup>  
erexit Varum.

A mere blunder, you will say, for *Varium*: and *Varium* stands, of course, in all the editions. Yet our MSS., though they represent two distinct recensions, agree upon *Varum*. One of them is a twelfth-century MSS.; the other belongs to saec. XIII. Bear in mind, moreover, here and elsewhere, how much greater for a scribe was the temptation to change *Varum* to *Varium* than to make the inverse change.

This passage is our earliest certain reference to the *Thyestes* of Varius or Varus, and the MSS. agree here upon Varus, the editors upon Varius. I say 'our earliest certain reference,' and yet I have no doubt that Ovid IV. *Pont.* 16, 31 is a reference—and an almost contemporary reference—to the same poem and poet:

cum Varus Gracchusque darent fera dicta tyrannis.

Here all the best MSS. agree upon Varus (and I observe that Mr. S. G. Owen, in his text in Postgate's *Corpus*, retains it), but one or two have Varius. That the allusion here is to Varus (Varius) the tragedian seems probable enough in itself, but the probability amounts, I think, almost to certainty when it is recalled that Gracchus also was a tragic poet, and that among his tragedies was a *Thyestes*, as we know from Priscian. This Gracchus is mentioned, I fancy, also in the passage which I have already quoted from the *Laus Pisonis*—the passage which refers to the *Thyestes* of Varus. The MSS. offer, at 239-240:

<sup>1</sup> A phrase which seems to be imitated in alter Euripides.'  
Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* IX. 230, 'orchestram quatit



Maecenas alta tonantis  
eruit et populis ostendit nomina Graïs,

—which I would correct to :

Maecenas altitonantis  
eruit et populis ostendit carmina Gracchi.

(carmina *Unger*).

Let us turn now to one or two writers of a rather later period who mention the *Thyestes*.

Quintilian (X. i. 98) and Tacitus (*Dial.* XII. 6) both speak—or their MSS. do—of *Varii Thyestes*. The text of the *Dialogus* rests upon the testimony of a number of fifteenth-century MSS., of which the lesser variants are imperfectly, or not at all, recorded. Even were they fully known, the authority, in such a matter, of MSS. so late would be valueless. For Quintilian X. i. 98, we have the readings<sup>1</sup> of one MS. of saec. XI. and two MSS. of saec. XV. (of which one has *uariis* for *uarii*). It is idle in any case to weigh the authority of these MSS. against that of the MSS. of the *Laus Pisonis*. But it is really more than idle. It is perverse—since it can be made quite certain that Quintilian himself did not write *Varii*. If Quintilian wished to write the genitive of *Varius* he wrote, not *Varii*, but *Vari*. I say this after due reflection, and being well aware that the world is against me, and that I shall not be believed by the casual hearer of the word who is typified by the student of Neue-Wagener's *Formenlehre*. That work, which by its notable industry has established a kind of *tyrannis* among us, would lead one to believe that what I say is the exact opposite of the truth (vol. I., p. 152, 1902). Yet I believe that I know better than Neue-Wagener. I examined the first six books of the *Institutio Oratoria* in order to find out for myself how often Quintilian preferred *-ii* to *-i* in the genitive of proper names in *-ius*. In these books I counted thirty-seven examples of the genitive of such proper names.<sup>2</sup> In no case was *-i* without attestation from some MS.: and in thirty-five cases out of the thirty-seven it was attested by the paramount authority of the Ambrosian MS. Now it so happens that at X. i. 98 we are without the Ambrosian MS. If we had it, the chances are 17+ to 1 that it would there give *Vari Thyestes* for our present *Varii*. And let no one ask, How in that case should the reader know whether *Vari* came from Varius or Varus? Why, how should the reader know whether Tulli comes from Tullius or Tullus? Claudii from Claudius or Claudus? Marci from Marcius or Marcus? Iuli from Iulius or Iulus? Muti from Mutius or Mutus? Fului from Fulvius or Fuluus? Serui from Seruius or Seruus? Septimi from Septimius or Septimus? Plauti from Plautius or

<sup>1</sup> I employ here, and elsewhere, the Apparatus Criticus of Halm.

<sup>2</sup> I.: 5, 8; 8, 11 (6 exx.). II.: 4, 18, 35; 16, 7; 17, 21. III.: 5, 17; 7, 5; 8, 57; 11, 14. IV.: 2, 123; 3, 13. V.: 9, 12 (3 exx.); 10, 79, 93; 12, 17; 11, 15; 13, 33. VI.: 3, 27, 39, 40 (3 exx.), 44, 51, 68, 81, 84, 86, 92.

The form in *-i*, as Neue-Wagener points out, survived in proper names long after *-ii* had become usual in common names.

I do not pretend that my figures are exhaustive; but they may, I think, be regarded as sufficiently accurate for my purpose.

Plautus? The fact is that in all these genitives from *-ius* nothing can help the reader save a little of what is called 'gumption.' When Quintilian wrote *Vari* he trusted more than he had any right to do to the 'gumption' of posterity. (He might very well have remembered that three centuries earlier the form *Plauti* had actually caused a number of plays to be ascribed to Plautus which were written by Plautius, Aul. Gell. III. 3, 7-10.)

'*Varii Thyestes*,' then, disappears. What evidence is there without it for Varius as against Varus? In the first four centuries I can only find two small pieces of evidence in favour of Varius. Of these the first is Martial VIII. 18, 7, *et Vario cessit Romani laude cothurni*. Yet in the very same book, LV. (LVI.), 21, the MSS. vary; hopelessly between *Varos* and *Varios*, the weightier authority being on the side of the wrong reading. The other is Quintilian III. 8, 45, *Atreus apud Varium*.<sup>1</sup> Yet, at X. 3, 8, all the MSS. of Quintilian have *Varus* falsely for *Varius*: at VI. 3, 78, the correct *Varo* is found by accident in a worthless Renaissance MS., all the reputable MSS.—two of them of saec. XI.—offering *Vario* or *Vareo*: and at X. 1, 98, as we have seen, all the MSS. give falsely *Varii*.

The fact is that the evidence of MSS. is, in this matter, utterly untrustworthy. I do not trust Quintilian when he says *Varius*: and, let me hasten to add, I do not trust Ovid or the Panegyrist of Piso or Suetonius-Donatus<sup>2</sup> when they say *Varus*. The only authority whom I am prepared to trust is someone who, when he says *Varius* or *Varus*, makes it unmistakeably clear, from the rest of what he is saying, which of the two he means. Such rare souls there are; and among them may be numbered Junius Philargyrius and the Berne Scholiast upon Vergil's *Eclogues*. These two scholars have well-known defects. But they have one great merit. When they say *Varus*, they mean it, and they let you know it. Commenting upon *Ecl.* VIII. 6, Philargyrius, for reasons best known to himself but concerning which I shall make some conjecture later, gives a short biography of Alphenus Varus. The praenomen, as well as the biography, guarantees 'Varus'; nor, oddly enough, though the name occurs here nearly a dozen times, do the MSS. ever blunder into Varius. The biography ends thus:

Eiusdem autem Vari est tragoedia Thyestes omnibus tragicis praeferenda: aliud nihil eius habetur.

To the same effect the Berne Scholiast. Philargyrius probably lived in the fourth century. He is earlier than the Berne Scholiast, who mentions him by name; and he may very well be prior to Servius, to whom he never refers, and of whom he is in his notes quite independent. There is 'plenty of evidence,' says Nettleship,<sup>3</sup> to show that he draws on 'stores of information gathered by scholars of the first and the beginning of the second century.' Philargyrius, that is, reflects the literary tradition of the age of Quintilian; and on the

<sup>1</sup> Even here variants *Varum* and *Varrum* are recorded from inferior MSS., not recognized in Halm.

<sup>2</sup> Diehl, 48: *Varus* our best MS. (saec. IX.).

<sup>3</sup> Conington's *Vergil*, ed. V. xciv.



question, Who wrote the *Thyestes*, he is (in so far as we do not know certainly whether Quintilian intended to say Varius or Varus) a better authority than Quintilian. There is no mistake about the Varus of Philargyrius; and let no one tell me that Philargyrius did not know what he was saying. He knew perfectly well. And he knew that, when he said 'Varius,' there were people about—already in the fourth century as to-day—who would exclaim at once, 'The fool has confused Varus and Varius.' Turn to the Commentary of Servius upon *Ecl.* VI. 35:

'*Vario uideor*: Varius poeta fuit. De hoc Horatius, *Varius ducit—molle atque facetum*: item *scriberis Vario fortis et hostium*. nam Varus dux fuit, cui supra blanditur,'

—to which the Danielian Servius (to whom the twilight of dubiety is always displeasing) adds 'qui nulla carmina scripsit'; and 'nonnulli sane,' he goes on contemptuously, 'nonnulli sane Alfenum Varum uolunt, qui, licet iuris consultor et successor Seruii Sulpicii esset, etiam carmina<sup>1</sup> aliqua composuisse dicitur. Sed hoc, teste Horatio, falsum est, qui Varium poetam laudat.'

It is clear from all this that there were at any rate some critics in the fourth century who ascribed *carmina* to Varus. And if we interpret the notes of Servius and the Danielian continuator by the aid of those of Philargyrius and the Berne Scholiast (and this method of interpretation seems natural and reasonable), it appears likely that these *carmina* were the tragedy *Thyestes*. In support of this view I would cite an ancient document which at any rate plainly calls in question the ascription of the *Thyestes* to Varius. In the Introduction to the *Eclogues* which, in our three best MSS. (saec. IX.-X.), is appended to Suetonius-Donatus' *Life of Vergil*, is to be found this sentence:

'Quamuis igitur multa pseudepigrapha, id est falsa inscriptione, sub alio nomine sint prolata, ut *Thyestes* tragoedia huius poetae, quam Varius (Varus B) suo nomine edidit, et alia huiusmodi, tamen Bucolica liquido Vergilii esse minime dubitandum est' (Diehl, 48).

To the same effect the notes of Servius<sup>2</sup> on *Ecl.* III. 20, VI. 3. That Varius, in the *Thyestes*, deliberately tried to pass off as his own the work of some other poet is not in itself easily credible. The importance of these perplexing passages consists simply in the evidence which they furnish that at an early date the ascription of the *Thyestes* to Varius was called in question.

Let me for a moment here recapitulate. We have seen that the MSS. of those Latin writers who ascribe the *Thyestes* to Varius or Varus, without further specification, confuse these two names so constantly that their evidence is hopelessly untrustworthy. We have seen from Suetonius-Donatus and from Servius that the claim of Varius to the authorship of the *Thyestes* was suspect from at least as early as the fourth century. We have seen from

<sup>1</sup> Both Horace, *A.P.* 90 sq., speaking of the *Thyestes*, and Vergil (*Ecl.* VIII.), perhaps also of the same work—see para. 1, p. 213) use *carmina* of the tragic drama.

<sup>2</sup> Serv. on *Ecl.* III. 20 adds a great deal of detail of an obviously legendary character. A different form of the legend may be seen in Acron on Hor. *Epp.* I. 4. 3.



Servius that some authorities ascribed poems to Varus; and we have the definite statement of Philargyrius, repeated in the Berne scholia, that the *Thyestes* was the work of Varus. So far we are upon sure ground. I would now ask the reader to follow me into regions where we shall tread less certainly. I wish to turn from the commentators upon Vergil to Vergil himself.

In *Ecl.* IX. 26-9 Moeris speaks of an unfinished poem which Menalcas = Vergil had made in honour of Varus, and he cites three lines of this poem—this lost *Eclogue* as we may call it:

Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,  
Mantua, uae, miserae nimium uicina Cremonae,  
cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni.

The nature of these songs that were to lift Varus' name to the stars is made plain in the opening lines of *Ecl.* VI. They were to be some kind of epic song (*tristia condere bella*, 6-7). The whole of the prologue to *Ecl.* VI. needs careful examination. It presents at once a curious problem. F. Skutsch, in his two attractive books, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* and *Gallus und Vergil*, has shewn, I think, convincingly that *Ecl.* VI. is before all else a poem in honour of Gallus. We need not go all lengths with Skutsch. We need not call *Ecl.* VI. a 'Katalogsgedicht' of the poems of Gallus; and we need not perhaps draw from it Skutsch's inferences as to the authorship of the *Ciris*. But without doing all this we may reasonably, and I think, indeed, that we must, regard this *Eclogue* as essentially a 'Laudes Galli.' That it was so regarded in antiquity seems indicated, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> by the story, preserved in Servius, that the poem was recited in the theatre by Lycoris, or Cytheris, the mistress of Gallus. *Ecl.* VI. is, in fact, like *Ecl.* X.,

pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris.

But why to a poem in honour of Gallus should Vergil prefix a prologue in honour of Varus? To this problem I know of no suggested solution; but I think that we may find one in Servius. In the Prooemium to his Commentary on the Eclogues (Thilo III., p. 3, II. 19-20) Servius tells us that some critics regarded the sixth *Eclogue* as the first. If this statement stood alone it might perhaps not merit much attention. But (1) the opening words of our poem,

prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu  
nostra nec erubuit siluis habitare Thalia,

seem an appropriate Introduction to a volume, and not particularly appropriate to an isolated poem in the middle of a volume; (2) the Prologue to Varus, so strangely out of place in the forefront of a 'Laudes Galli,' is at once explained if we regard it as a dedication to Varus, not of one *Eclogue*, a Gallus *Eclogue*, but of the *Eclogues* as a whole. And look now at Vergil's own words (10-11),

te nostrae, Vare, myricae,  
te nemus omne canet,

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Rev.* XXIII., p. 163.

where *myrica*, as Servius and Philargyrius observe justly, means *Bucolica*, and where *nemus omne* should, therefore, mean *totum Bucolicon opus*. Consider, further, what Vergil tells us about Varus in this Prologue to *Ecl.* VI. He tells us three things: (1) Varus is a victorious general (6-7), (2) Vergil has promised him a poem in honour of his warlike achievements (3, 6-7), (3) the *Eclogues* were undertaken at his bidding, *non iniussa cano* (9). I am aware that these last three words are susceptible of, and usually receive, a different interpretation.<sup>1</sup> But turn now to the opening of *Ecl.* VIII. (6-13). There Vergil addresses himself to some unnamed patron, whom Servius identifies with Augustus, the Danielian Servius, Philargyrius, and the Berne Scholiast with Pollio—the two last suggest also as an alternative Gallus. These conflicting testimonies establish one thing only, that in the fourth century (probably reflecting, remember, the second) nobody knew who the person was whom Vergil addresses in the opening lines of this eighth *Eclogue*. Let us once again ask, What does Vergil himself actually tell us of the patron whom he here addresses?

He tells us three things: (1) This unnamed patron is a victorious general, (2) Vergil has promised him a poem in honour of his warlike achievements, (3) the *Eclogues* were undertaken at his bidding. Vergil says of him, in other words, precisely what in *Ecl.* VI. he had said of Varus. And vastly complimented must this great man have felt, expecting an epic which should lift him to the stars, to be told to 'see under *Varus*.' For that is what it comes to; and lest there should be any mistake about it, Vergil deliberately at VIII. 11-12, *accipe iussis carmina coepta tuis*, echoes the *non iniussa cano* of VI. 9—echoes it with such unmistakeable deliberation as leads Servius to remark, and justly, that the same person must be referred to in both phrases. Servius in both phrases sees a reference to Augustus. But modern editors are all, save, I think, Schaper, agreed that to refer the opening lives of VIII. to Augustus is, for many reasons, impossible. What person is there who suits both passages? Pollio does not suit VI., Gallus<sup>2</sup> does not suit VIII. But if I have interpreted VI. 9 aright, what is there to prevent us from identifying the nameless patron addressed in VIII. 6-13 with Varus? Of both Varus and the unnamed patron of VIII. Vergil says the same three things. Nay, four things: for VIII. 11, *a te principium, tibi desinam* is a mere variation of VI. 11, *te nemus omne canet*. Servius rightly compares *a te principium, tibi desinam*

<sup>1</sup> They are usually interpreted to mean, 'I sing at the bidding of Augustus.' But the *Eclogues* were not undertaken at the bidding of Augustus, unless, with Servius, we are to refer *Ecl.* VIII. 6-13 to Augustus. It seems inappropriate, again, to interpret *non iniussa cano* as = *iussu Pollionis cano*. Vergil was a *candida anima*, but he knew better than to say to Varus, 'I take my orders from Pollio, not from you.' What he does say to Varus is, as I understand him, this: 'You ask me, Varus, for an epic. But Phoebus bids me still occupy myself with bucolic poetry.

There are plenty of people to write epics for you. I will go on with my *Eclogues*—they were undertaken at your orders. None the less any reader will see in them—as much as in the epic you desiderate—*Laudes Vari*.' (The difficulty made by editors over *tamen* in 9 arises from the failure to perceive that *non iniussa cano* is a parenthesis.)

<sup>2</sup> He is suggested by Philargyrius—no doubt for the same reason as makes Servius suggest Augustus.



with Horace's *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena*. The application is the same. *A te principium, tibi desinam* is a valedictory address to the person to whom the first *Eclogue* (that is, according to Servius, the sixth) was inscribed. And so Philargyrius understands it. For he says plainly (VIII. 6): 'nam et *prima* ode de eo loquitur et *ultima*.' By 'de eo,' it is true, Philargyrius means 'de Gallo,' as appears from the context. Even so he is a new witness to the opinion that the *prima ode* was *Ecl.* VI. As a matter of fact, if we turn to his note on VI. 11, we shall find that he refers *non iniussa cano* to both Pollio and Varus.

Nor have I yet finished with Philargyrius. Apparently, with Servius, he regarded *Ecl.* VI as the first *Eclogue*. Apparently also he regarded *Ecl.* VIII. as the last—*ultima ode*. He identifies the person addressed in VIII. with either Pollio or Gallus—explicitly. But it can be shewn beyond dispute, I think, that implicitly he identifies him—as a 'third alternative'—with Varus. And the same is true of the Berne Scholiast. In both these commentaries the note upon Pollio is, almost exclusively, a biography of Varus. That is strange enough in itself, but stranger still is what follows. Philargyrius' reason for identifying the patron of VIII. with Pollio is that Pollio wrote '*multa carmina et uaria arte poematum; unde illud est, sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*.' The argumentation, 'Pollio wrote tragedies, the patron of *Ecl.* VIII. wrote tragedies: ergo the patron of *Ecl.* VIII. is Pollio' is, in itself, not convincing. But Philargyrius goes on to rob it of any plausibility it may possess by adding 'Varus wrote tragedies': *Eiusdem autem Vari est tragoedia Thyestes, omnibus tragicis praeferenda: aliud eius nihil habetur*. What has happened is obvious. Philargyrius has muddled his notes—or we have the notes of some unintelligent student who attended his lectures. Three suggestions were given as to the identity of the person spoken of in the prooemium to *Ecl.* VIII. He was Pollio; or he was Gallus; or he was Varus. Of the third suggestion all that has survived is the short biography of Varus—on the ordinary shewing, quite irrelevant here—and the statement that he wrote the *Thyestes*. It is perhaps worth noting that if Vergil, at VIII. 10, has in mind the *Thyestes* of Varus—as I believe he has—then in the phrase *Sophocleo cothurno* he chose his epithet well. Of the three great Attic tragedians Sophocles alone wrote a *Thyestes*.

Let us for a moment leave Vergil and turn again to Horace. We have seen that Horace, often as he mentions Varius, never connects him with tragedy. Horace knows nothing of a *Thyestes* of Varius. Yet, as I have already noticed, he knows something of a *Thyestes*. If there is any plausibility in my conjecture that it is of the *Thyestes* of Varus that Vergil speaks when he says *sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*, then it is impossible not to connect those words with *Ars Poetica* 90-1. 'The Banquet of Thyestes,' Horace there says, 'resents that its theme should be given in bourgeois verse *ac prope socco dignis carminibus*. Does it not look as though Horace had deliberately taken Vergil's phrase in order to direct a sharp criticism at Vergil's patron?



In two other passages<sup>1</sup> of Horace we can find, I fancy, traces of the *Thyestes* of Varus. Consider first the titulus to *Epode* V.: 'Puerum praetextatum defossum inducit a Canidia: quo necato Alpho (*v.l.* Aleio) Varo daret potionem delinimentorum.' *Alpho* here is commonly corrected to *Alfio*. But though *Epode* II. has in some MSS. the titulus *Oratio Alfii*, and though Horace speaks at 67 of 'fenerator Alfius,' we know of no Alfius Varus, and a more probable correction is surely *Alpheno Varo*. In the text Horace calls him simply Varus (73 *Vare*). Canidia buries alive a patrician boy, in order that when he is dead, or perhaps half dead, she may use his entrails as a 'philtre' to draw back to her the love of Varus. Look now at ll. 85-6. The boy in his despair is said to utter 'Thyestean prayers':

sed dubius unde rumperet silentium  
misit Thyesteas preces.

'Thyestean prayers' are, as the editors tell us, such prayers as Thyestes, having eaten the flesh of his children, uttered against Atreus. But the *puer praetextatus* of our *Epode* is in the situation, not of Thyestes, but of Thyestes' children. It is not entirely apt, therefore, that he should utter prayers appropriate to Thyestes. His prayer begins with two lines of well-known obscurity:

Venena magnum (fas nefasque non ualent)  
conuertere humanam uicem.

These I would render, 'It is a hard task (*magnum* as in Cic. *Acad.* I. 6, 7) for mere mortality to upset witchcraft: right and wrong are of no avail.' For *fas nefasque non ualent*, which I have taken parenthetically, I would compare, not, as editors idly, Vergil's *fas uersum atque nefas* (*Georg.* I. 505), but, a much nearer parallel, Seneca's

peccatum satis est, fas ualuit nihil  
aut commune nefas.

That is from Seneca's *Thyestes* (138-9): and the suspicion suggests itself that both Seneca and Horace are echoing the *Thyestes* of Varus—a suspicion which perhaps gains strength if we compare Horace's *Thracum pectora* in 14 with *Thracium fiat nefas* in Seneca, *Thy.* 56; and again Horace's *o rebus meis non infideles arbitrae, Nox et Diana . . . iram atque numen uertite* in 49-54 with *quisquis noua supplicia functis durus umbrarum arbiter disponis, adde si quid ad poenas potes* in Sen. *Thy.* 14 sqq. And look now at *Odes* I. 16. The Commentator Cruquianus regarded that poem as a palinode addressed to the Canidia who in *Epode* V. seeks to enchant Varus; and the tituli of some of our MSS. support this interpretation. Is it, then, a mere accident that in this sixteenth Ode of the first book the fifth stanza begins

irae Thyesten exitio graui  
strauere?

Is Thyestes the most obvious classical example of the ruinous effects of anger?

<sup>1</sup> I pass by *A.P.* 186.

Of course he is not. But he is an apt example to offer to the mistress of the Varus who wrote the tragedy *Thyestes*—to the Canidia at whom the hapless boy of *Epode* V. had hurled 'Thyestean prayers.'

I am not sure that Canidia does not reappear in Vergil. Let us see.

Servius, on *Ecl.* V. 20, tells us that some persons identified the Daphnis of that poem with Quintilius Varus: *alii uolunt Quintilium Varum significari, cognatum Vergilii, de quo etiam Horatius 'ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor urget.'* It can, I fancy, be shown that Servius is right about Varus, but has blundered over the gentile name: that Vergil's Daphnis is Alphenus Varus, and that 'Quintilius' is due to temerarious 'combination' with Horace, *Odes* I., XXIV. How valuable are the Verona Scholia to Vergil everyone knows. And everyone knows how uncertain, alas, is the text of them. There is scarcely a single line where the three scholars who have endeavoured to decipher the palimpsest which contains these Scholia do not disagree seriously in the readings which they report. I am going to cite, and I shall try to explain better than it has hitherto been explained, a passage in these Scholia where the sense has been greatly obscured by the uncertainty of the text. At *Ecl.* VI. 10 the Veronese Scholiast, commenting on the words *te nostrae, Vare, myricae*—words which we have already had occasion to consider—has this: '*Te etiam humilia canent: et pastor alibi 'carminibus . . . . . Menalcam . . . . . numinibus nostris caneris. Varum ergo prosequitur hoc epicedio.'* Between *carminibus* and *Menalcam* Mai thought to see the words *uestrum seruasse*—a quotation from *Ecl.* IX. 10. But neither Keil nor Hermann confirm this; and a citation here of *Ecl.* IX. 10 would be meaningless. Between *Menalcam* and *numinibus* Keil and Hermann read *ab*, but Mai reports merely a blank of seven letters. For *numinibus*—though the text is not in dispute—Mai conjectures *nemoribus*. But no one has attempted to explain *Varum ergo prosequitur hoc epicedio*. What does the Verona Scholiast mean by calling *Ecl.* VI. an *epicedion*? There is only one *epicedion* in Vergil; and that is *Ecl.* V. Turn now to *Ecl.* V. 63-4: '*ipsae iam carmina rupes, ipsa sonant arbusta deus, deus ille, Menalca.*' Then return to *carminibus . . . Menalcam* in the Scholia. For Mai's inapposite *uestrum seruasse* read *sonant a. deus deus ille (Menalca)*.<sup>1</sup> This—which postulates merely the initial *a* for the word *arbusta* (a saving device in the quotations of scholiasts)—gives us, allowing *ds* for *deus*, fourteen letters for the blank of 15. The gap between *Menalcam* and *numinibus* I would fill in conjecturally with the words *aeque cu(m)*—corresponding exactly with the lacuna of seven letters reported by Mai. And now everything is, I think, clear. With *te nostrae, Vare, myricae, te nemus omne canet* the Scholiast aptly compares V. 63-4: '*et pastor alibi, carminibus sonant arbusta, deus, deus ille, Menalca*'—the quotation is allusive merely, but sufficiently exact (such allusive quotations are common in e.g. Servius). Then his '*aeque cum*

<sup>1</sup> The word *Menalcam* is not altogether certain. But edd. seem to agree on the last letter. If this tells against my *Menalca*, it tells also against Mai's introduction of IX. 10, where all the MSS.

have *Menalcā*—and so no doubt Vergil always wrote these accusatives: cf. *Ecl.* II. 10, VI. 43. I would explain the *M* of *MenalcaM* as the *AA* of *MENALCAAEQUECUM*.



numinibus nostris caneris' is partly a comment on *deus*, but still more on the whole of V. 62-80 (see especially 78-79). Then he adds—words which at length are intelligible—'it is Varus, therefore, whom Vergil follows to the grave with this *epicedion*,' i.e. with the dirge of Menalcas in *Ecl.* V.

It would seem, then, that the Verona Scholiast identified the Daphnis of *Ecl.* V. with the Varus of *Ecl.* VI. Servius, as we have seen, knows of persons who connected Daphnis with a Varus; and it appears likely that he derived his 'Quintilius' from Horace's *nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili* (*Odes* I. XXIV.). When he adds that this Varus was *cognatus Vergilii*, that is probably due to a confused recollection of yet another view (which meets us in e.g. Philargyrius), according to which Daphnis was Vergilius Flaccus, a brother of Vergil.

It is natural to regard the Daphnis of *Ecl.* V. as identical with the Daphnis who meets us in *Ecl.* VIII. Indeed the reference in V. 73 to Alphesiboeus makes it unnatural not to do so. But if the Daphnis of *Ecl.* VIII. is Varus, then the conjecture that Varus is the person addressed in the opening lines of that eclogue acquires fresh confirmation. And then consider the theme of the second half of the poem. It is precisely the theme of the fifth Epode of Horace—the incantations employed by his lover to win back the love of Varus. What historical incident lies behind this story of love and witchcraft it seems idle to attempt to discover.

I have as yet said nothing of ll. 6-7 in *Ecl.* VIII. :

seu magni superas iam saxa Timau  
siue oram Illyrici legis aequoris.

These lines, taken in conjunction with the reference in 13 to *uictrices . . . laurus*, are commonly explained as an allusion to Pollio's conquest of, and triumph over, the Parthini. Dio Cassius XLVIII. 41 notes against the year 39 B.C.: *κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἰλλυρίᾳ τοῖς Παρθίνοις κίνησις. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίῳ μάχαις ἔπαυσεν.* And in the *C.I.L.* I.<sup>2</sup>, p. 50, Pollio's triumph is dated exactly as October 25, 39 B.C. It is supposed that the eclogue was written at the moment when Pollio was returning home to celebrate this triumph. It is to be noticed, however, that Vergil makes no mention of the Parthini. Nor is it obvious what the conqueror of the Parthini was doing among 'the rocks of the Timavus,' i.e. in N. Istria. The Parthini were located in the neighbourhood of Dyrrhachium, and Pollio, returning home, would naturally take ship from that convenient 'post-town of the Adriatic' (*Hadriae taberna*, Catullus 36. 15). It is true that he captured Salonae, and Horace speaks vaguely of his 'Dalmatian triumph' (*Odes* II. 1, 16). But strictly it was a Macedonian triumph, and the conquest of Illyricum was left for Augustus. In fact, Vergil's language is less applicable to the circumstances of the year 39 than it would be to those of the years 35-33. In 35 B.C. Augustus first turned his attention to the subjugation of Dalmatia and Pannonia. He began operations by a campaign against the Iapydes, a tribe lying along the Illyrian coast just to the south of Istria. His route from



Rome lay through Ravenna and Aquileia. To reach the Iapydes from Aquileia he would pass the Timavus (*superas iam saxa Timavi*), and in Iapydia his army would correctly be said *legere oram Illyrici aequoris*. The overland route *via* Aquileia was the natural one for an army destined, as was that of Augustus, to operate in Pannonia and Dacia. But it was not the natural route of an army passing, like that of Pollio, to or from Macedonia.<sup>1</sup>

I imagine, then, that Varus in 35 B.C. accompanied the Pannonian expedition of Augustus, and that we have in this passage a reference to the initial successes against the Iapydes. Ll. 6-7 seem at any rate to locate us in Iapydia. The mention in 13 of *uictrices . . . laurus* is anticipative. But these Iapydian victories were a part of the triumph which Augustus celebrated in 29 B.C. What part Varus may have sustained in these confused wars on the northern frontiers we have no means of knowing. But Vergil might very naturally here associate him with the laurels of Augustus.

This hypothesis brings the date of *Ecl.* VIII. three or four years lower than the date usually assigned to it. But we have already seen reason to suppose that in Vergil's first arrangement of the *Eclogues* it stood last. It must, however—if Varus be the Daphnis of *Ecl.* V.—be prior to that eclogue. It must be prior also to *Ecl.* X., which was put in its present place by Vergil himself (as we see from X. 1); just as the present place of *Ecl.* I. is due to Vergil (see *Georg.* IV. 566). Some time, therefore, in or after 35 B.C., Vergil added to the *Eclogues*, as he had originally arranged them, *Ecls.* V. and X. (Nettleship is, I think, probably right in regarding IX. as prior to I.): and at the same time gave a new disposition to the pieces as a whole. *Ecl.* VI. was moved from the first, *Ecl.* VIII. no longer stood in the last, place. The primacy was given to *Ecl.* I. for the reason that that poem contains the formal panegyric of Augustus.

Incidentally we may dismiss a myth which has been given more credence than consideration. It is commonly said that the individual eclogues were published separately. This seems not likely in itself: and no parallel is adduced for such a procedure in the case of the shorter poems of other authors. The ancient writers bided their time. It is the moderns who 'rush into print.' Vergil, Horace and their friends, where they were eager for applause or curious for criticism, satisfied themselves with, at most, the experiment of a recitation. This particular myth reposes solely upon an inference from *Ecl.* VI. 12, *Vari praescipsit pagina nomen*: where *pagina*, as I have tried to shew, means not *Ecl.* VI. but *Eclogarum Liber*.

Though I shall be travelling rather far from 'Varus and Varius,' I seem obliged to say something further in support of my hypothesis of two editions of the *Eclogues*. What I am going to say connects immediately with what I have just said about the separate publication of individual eclogues. *Ecl.* IX. —setting aside II. 26-9—contains fragments of no less than three lost eclogues

<sup>1</sup> I am happy to say that the view taken in this paragraph is confirmed by the opinion of Dr. G. B. Grundy, who was kind enough to write to me upon the subject.

of Vergil; (1) a Tityrus eclogue, translated from Theocritus (23-5); (2) a Galatea eclogue, also from Theocritus (39-43); (3) a Daphnis eclogue (46-50). On the traditional view these were published separately, and not subsequently included by Vergil in his 'Collected Poems.' It would, of course, be possible to regard them as fragments of eclogues which Vergil never published at all. It would be possible: but not, I think, plausible. For the citation of these fragments would, on this view, carry no meaning to the readers of the ninth Eclogue. We must suppose Vergil to make allusion to something known already to his hearers. But if the hypothesis of a separate publication of individual eclogues has no surer basis than *Ecl.* VI. 12, then it seems most simple to suppose that the three fragments of lost eclogues preserved in *Ecl.* IX. belong to a first edition of the *Bucolics* as a whole, and were for some reason not known to us not included in the final recension. I speak of 'three fragments,' and have, as I noted, set aside the Varus fragment preserved at 26-9.<sup>1</sup> I set this fragment apart because Vergil *apparently* speaks of it as a fragment from an eclogue never finished (24). Apparently: but I am not sure that we do not ordinarily misinterpret him. '*Quae Varo necdum perfecta canebat*' means, I fancy, not 'the Varus eclogue which he never finished,' but 'the Varus eclogue in which he made promises which he has not yet fulfilled'—the promises specified in the three lines that follow, the promises which are again alluded to in the *exordia* to *Ecls.* VI. and IX.

The hypothesis of a dual recension of the *Eclogues* affords, I fancy, an explanation of the double title under which the poems have come down to us. They are known as *Bucolica*, and they are known as *Eclogae*. The first title denotes the species of poetry, the second, as I believe, the method of the poet. The *Eclogues*, that is, are, as the name implies, 'Selections'; and they are 'Selections' made by the poet himself from some larger body of poetry. These poems, I conjecture, in their final recension bore the title 'Bucolicon Eclogae X.' The title 'Eclogae' is, I am aware, commonly supposed to be the invention of fourth-century grammarians. But let us see. The name 'Bucolica' is undoubtedly that which has the more ancient attestation. Ovid, *Trist.* II. 538, *Bucolicis luserat ante modis* seems to imply a definite title. Quintilian thrice at least has *in Bucolicis* for 'in the Eclogues' (VIII. 6, 46; IX. 2, 13; X. 1, 56). So also a little earlier Columella (VII. 10, 8); and again a little later Suetonius (*De Gram.* 23). But what does this mean? It means at most that in the first two centuries scholars were accustomed to quote our poems with the phrase *in Bucolicis*. And what more natural than that, given the alternative titles 'Eclogues' and 'Bucolics,' they should prefer the more specific? And, if it be urged that the *Eclogues* are nowhere spoken of as

<sup>1</sup> The poems represented by the fragments in 23-25 were perhaps excluded as being merely translations. The Daphnis poem (46-50), possibly, was omitted when *Ecl.* V. was added, in order that the final recension should not contain three Daphnis eclogues.

That these lost eclogues should have left no traces of themselves in the literary tradition of the times need not surprise us when we recall the complete disappearance of the first edition of the fourth book of the *Georgics*.



'Eclogae' before the fourth century, I will first ask, Where save in the three writers whom I have just mentioned are they, before the fourth century, spoken of as *Bucolica*? The fact is that the critics who have summarily dismissed the title 'Eclogae' as a fourth-century invention have forgotten that these poems are, in saec. I.-IV., very rarely referred to by any specific name at all. Three writers in this period exhaust, so far as I can discover, the authority for 'Bucolica' (I omit Gellius IX. 9, 4, since it covers also Theocritus). It has further been forgotten, it would seem, by those who have considered the subject, that the two titles are not of necessity mutually exclusive. The arguments in favour of 'Bucolica' in no way shut out the possibility that the two titles are concurrent and complementary. I have mentioned Suetonius as a witness to 'Bucolica.' Let us examine his words in another passage, as they are preserved to us in Suetonius-Donatus (Diehl, 43):

'Prolatis *Bucolicis* Numitorius (?) quidam rescripsit *Antibucolica*, duas modo *eclogas*.'

Here again Suetonius clearly attests the title *Bucolica*. Yet it is a reasonable inference from the last three words that he knows also the title *Eclogae*. Nay more: if, as I suppose, Vergil entitled his work 'Bucolicon Eclogae X.,' what more natural than to suppose that Numitorius called his parody 'Antibucolicon Eclogae II.?' And I fancy that Suetonius' words lend some colour to this suggestion.

It is contended that the title *Eclogae* was given to the *Bucolica* at a period when the word *ecloga* was in Latin the ordinary designation of any short poem. By the end of the first century A.D., it is true, the title 'eclogue' was employed as a synonym for any short poem in familiar style. Statius, *Silu.* III. Praef., speaks of *Silu.* III. 5 as an 'eclogue.' In the time of Trajan the usage was well established. Pliny, *Epp.* IV. 14, 9, has 'epigrammata siue idyllia siue *eclogas* siue, ut multi, poematia.'<sup>1</sup> By the fourth century the expression had come to be used of any short poem, whether in familiar or in elevated style. Ausonius, who speaks of one of his own Idylls as an 'eclogue,' elsewhere applies the same title to an Ode of Horace (and some of our MSS. of Horace actually call the Odes 'eclogues').

I would note in passing that this argument cuts both ways. If, as early as the first century, *ecloga* was a common synonym for *poemation*, then it can be, as I have contended, only accident that no writer earlier than saec. IV. cites any one of Vergil's *Bucolica* as an 'eclogue.' But consider further. Without doubt the word *ecloga* meant at first in Latin a 'selection.' This meaning is attested by Cicero's use of *eclogarii* (*Att.* XVI. 2, 6); and *ecloga* itself is actually so employed by Varro, *apud Charisium*, p. 120, 28 Keil. How

<sup>1</sup> *Poematia* perhaps with an allusion to the *Poematia* of his friend Servius Augurinus (*Epp.* IV. 27. 1). But one at least of the lost works of

Lucan also perhaps bore this title—*Vaccæ Vita* 15, p. 336, Hosius. (The MSS. have *ip(ap)amata*: perhaps *apospasmata*.)



was the transition effected from the sense 'selection' to the sense 'short poem'? We shall have a simple explanation of this transition if we suppose that there existed in Rome in the first century some notable collection of short poems which were a 'selection' in the proper sense—a selection from some larger poetic *σῶμα*: if we suppose that this collection by its dominating fame caused the title 'Selections,' or 'Eclogues,' to be bestowed subsequently on *any* volume of short poems: if we suppose, in other words, that the use of the name 'eclogue' as a synonym for a short poem generally was actually mediated by the *Eclogues* of Vergil.

And, after all, if the title 'Eclogues' was for so long in use as an equivalent for *poematia*, how is it that it has clung especially to the works of the bucolic poets—to the *Bucolica* of Vergil, of Calpurnius, of Nemesianus? It is idle to blame the grammarians of the fourth and fifth centuries. Why have they behaved thus with Vergil, Calpurnius and Nemesianus, and not thus with Catullus, Propertius, Horace, Ovid? Why are the endless trifles of the *Anthologia Latina* not entitled *Eclogae*? It is true that, as I have already said, the *Odes* of Horace are sometimes called 'Eclogues.' But the appellation never won currency. It adhered to the *Bucolica* of Vergil; and for that it seems reasonable to make Vergil himself responsible.

I would add here, finally, a note which is, I think, not altogether irrelevant, upon another passage of the Veronese Scholia. At *Ecl.* VII. 22 the Scholiast cites some elegiac verses of Valgius in praise of Codrus: 'Valgius . . . quadam in *ecloga* de eo ait . . .' The word *ecloga* is now here commonly interpreted as merely=*poematia*. But I think there is still much to be said for the old view that it is =*bucolico carmine*. I am not suggesting that Valgius wrote *Bucolica* which he himself entitled *Eclogae*: but that he wrote *Bucolica*—an opinion now out of fashion—and that the Veronese Scholiast means here by *ecloga* one of these *Bucolica* of Valgius. The lines which he cites are, it is true, in elegiacs. But Theocritus also employed this metre in his *Bucolica*; and *Catalepton* IX. has been taken as evidence for its use in Latin pastoral. The lines quoted contain the praise of Codrus; and Codrus is one of the shepherd-singers in the Vergilian *Bucolica*. Turn now to Horace, *Odes* II. 9. This poem, as Porphyryon tells us, is a *Consolatio* to Valgius on the death of a *puer delicatus*. Look at II. 9-10:

Tu semper urges flebilibus modis  
Mysten ademptum.

Valgius, clearly, had lamented the death of Mystes in some species of poetry. But where else in Latin do we meet with Mystes? We meet him in the second of the two Bucolic poems preserved to us—in a fragmentary form—in the Einsiedeln MS. 266, Baehrens, *P.L.M.* III., pp. 60 sqq. These two poems, which are assigned to the age of Nero, are formal *Bucolica*, rather frigid in character. Mystes is one of two interlocutors in the second of them. It

looks very much as though the unknown author of them had taken the name *Mystes* from the *Bucolica* of Valgius. We have at any rate this interesting combination: (1) Valgius wrote poems which the Veronese Scholiast calls *Eclogae*—which may possibly mean *Bucolica*: (2) in one of these *Eclogae* Valgius praised Codrus, a pastoral character who figures in Vergil, *Ecl.* VII.: (3) in one of his poems Valgius lamented *Mystes*; and *Mystes* is another pastoral character, who meets us in the anonymous Einsiedeln *Bucolica*.

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## EMENDATIONS OF LATIN POETS.

OVID.

*Am.* II. 19. 19-20 :

Tu quoque, quae nostros rapuisti nuper ocellos,  
saepe †time insidias, saepe rogata nega.

*Heroid.* 17. 97-98 :

Disce †meo exemplo formosis posse carere :  
est uirtus placitis abstinuisse bonis.

In his elegiacs Ovid did not permit the elision of the final syllable of an iambic word 'in an arsis (as Palmer on *Her.* l.c. expresses it), i.e. first syllable of dactyl or spondee.' See L. Müller, *De re metrica*, ed. 2, p. 341. These two are the only lines in which this rule is transgressed, for in *Trist.* II. 296, which used to appear as

|                  |                                           |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| the true reading | stat Venus Vltori iuncta uiro ante fores, |
|                  | stat Venus Vltori iuncta, uir ante fores  |

was brilliantly restored conjecturally by Bentley, and has since been found to be the actual reading of our best manuscript, the Marcianus. The soundness of the text in the two lines obelized above is still open to question.

In *Am.* II. 19-20 Ehwald (Teubner text praef. p. xi) vainly attempts to defend the elision of the final syllable of 'time' by adducing II. 13. 24 'feram ante,' III. 6. 101 'fluminum amores,' which are not parallels; while Lucian Müller, *De re metr.* p. 346, without sufficient reason, brackets lines 19-22 as an interpolation. Of the various emendations proposed Palmer's 'saepe tamen sedeas' is the neatest: for 'sedere' used of a woman sitting at home he compares *Trist.* III. 7. 3 'aut illam inuenies dulci cum matre sedentem.' Prop. II. 14. 14 'nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest.' I find however little point in 'tamen,' and believe that what Ovid wrote was 'saepe domi sedeas,' which restores both metre and sense.

In *Heroid.* 17 (16). 97 the case is different, as it is probable that this epistle is the work not of Ovid but of an imitator. But as the imitator, who probably composed the later epistles, worked closely on Ovid's lines, even so the elision of the final syllable of 'meo' is suspicious. I believe that what the author wrote was 'disce modo exemplo.' 'Only this I ask that you learn by example to bring yourself to eschew light-o'-loves.' I suggest that 'meo' was a gloss written above 'exemplo,' which being mistaken for a correction supplanted 'modo.' Ovid has a fondness for 'modo' with imperatives: *H.* 3. 153 'me modo . . . domini iure uenire iube'; *P.* I. 2. 70 'lenia pro misera fac modo uerba fuga'; II. 6. 35 'fac modo'; *M.* VIII. 488, XV. 659.



## MANILIUS.

*Astron.* II. 43-45:

Ecce alius pictas uolucres ac bella ferarum,  
 ille uenenatos anguis, †hic nata per herbas  
 fata refert uitamque sua radice ferentis.

Manilius starts this book with a preliminary survey of the course of poetry. Homer, the great originator, Hesiod, Aratus and other astronomical poets, and Theocritus are enumerated in this sketch, in the same order in which they are given in Quintilian, *Instit. Or.* X. 1. 46-55. Then follow the above lines, which, since Scaliger, have generally been supposed to refer to such poets as Grattius Faliscus and Aemilius Macer. Mr. Garrod thinks that Valgius also may have been intended, quoting Pliny, *N.H.* XXV. 4 'post eum (M. Catonem) unus inlustrium temptauit Gaius Valgius eruditione spectatus imperfecto uolumine ad diuum Augustum.' Quintil. X. 1. 56 'Nicandrum frustra secuti Macer atque Vergilius? quid? Euphorionem transibimus? quem nisi probasset Vergilius idem, numquam certe "conditorum Chalcidico uersu carminum" fecisset in Bucolicis mentionem.' But this suggestion is highly problematical, for the work of Valgius on the medicinal properties of plants referred to by Pliny appears to have been written not in verse but in prose (Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* II. 1. 212), and in Quintilian Unger's conjecture 'Macer atque Valgius' (for 'Vergilius'), which Mr. Garrod appears to adopt, has not been generally accepted, and is contradicted by the words below 'Vergilius idem.' Since the rest of the poets in Manilius' catalogue are Greek, and since the lines which follow immediately appear to refer to Greek necromantic poems, it is reasonable to suppose that the three lines in question allude also to Greek poets, and to find in the words 'pictas uolucres' a reference to the Ὀρνιθογονία of the Alexandrine poet Boios, in 'bella ferarum,' to the unknown Greek original of the *Cynegetica* of Grattius Faliscus, and in 'ille uenenatos—ferentis' to the Θηριακά and Ἀλεξιφάρμακα of Nicander. This was pointed out by Knaack in the article on Boio and by Vollmer in that on Grattius in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*. The above works were imitated by Ovid's friend Aemilius Macer, who wrote an *Ornithogonia*, a *Theriaca*, and a poem *De herbis*: *Ov. Trist.* IV. 10. 43:

saepe suas uolucres legit mihi grandior aeuo,  
 quaeque nocet serpens, quae iuuat herba, Macer.

The words 'hic nata per' are unintelligible, and have given rise to conjectures, none of which seems to me satisfactory. I propose to read

ille uenenatos anguis ac nauiter herbas.

'Another (Nicander) tells of poisonous serpents, and in detail of plants that bring by their root death and life.' The uncommon adverb 'nauiter,' found in Terence, Cicero, Horace, Livy, Seneca, means 'fully, completely,' as in Lucret. I. 525 'quoniam nec plenum nauiter extat nec porro uacuum.' It is

especially appropriate to Nicander's Ἀλεξιφάρμακα, which poem deals in considerable detail with the poisonous and healing properties of plants.<sup>1</sup>

## VALERIUS FLACCUS.

I. 63:

Et dabat externo liuentia mella ueneno.

In the passage, of which this is the concluding line, Valerius says that in urging Jason to undertake the quest of the golden fleece Pelias concealed from him the dangers involved, the clashing rocks of the Cyaneae, and the serpent which Medea lured from its abode by incantations and food and to which 'she gave honey dark with foreign poison.' 'Foreign' (*externo* the reading of the Vaticanus) is a strange epithet. 'Foreign' from whose point of view? Those who adopt this reading answer some from that of Pelias, others from that of the Romans. In either case the expression is a tortuous and unnatural way of signifying Colchian, for which rather 'the poison of her country, her native poison,' or something of that sort might be expected. 'Foreign' from Medea's point of view would be the natural meaning: as Medea says of the clothing of the Argonauts V. 360 '*externo iam flammea murice cerno tegmina.*' But Colchis, her birthland, was renowned for its noxious drugs: Hor. *Epod.* 17. 35 '*cales uenenis officina Colchicis*'; *Carm.* II. 13. 8 '*uenena Colcha*'; Ov. *Her.* 6. 131, *M.* VII. 394. So it is idle to imagine that Medea would go elsewhere to provide herself with them, and this meaning is impossible.

Some editors adopt *hesterno*, the reading of some early printed editions. But it is not obvious why the poison should have been got ready the day before. Why, since fresh drugs are more effective, should not Medea have prepared the stuff on the day on which it was required? Or why not in odd moments at any convenient time? Mr. Blomfield's idea that the serpent "consumed at a time only a portion of the concoction given him by Medea, and that his poisonous fangs contaminated the remainder, which was carefully preserved and produced for his meal next day," imputes too great simplicity and monotony of taste to the serpent (Val. Flacc., Bk. I., tr. by H. G. Blomfield).

I think *externo* is corrupt; the very existence of a variant indicates uncertainty. I suggest that '*aeterno*' should be read. The word '*aeternus*' is often corrupted. Thus in Ov. *M.* XV. 551 for '*aeternas*' there is a variant '*externas*.' How the confusion came about is indicated by the reading of F. *eternum* for '*aeternum*' in Propert. III. 8. 38. In Ov. *Trist.* I. 3. 44 '*aeternos*' is found in some MSS. for '*extinctos*.'

'*Aeterno*' gives good sense. The honey is dark with 'constant' poison. Medea constantly doctored the serpent's honey. For this meaning of '*aeternus*' compare VI. 38 '*aeterno quamquam Maeotia pubes Marte cadat*;' Ov. *Trist.* V. 2. 15 '*Telephus aeterna consumptus tabe perisset*;' Stat. *Theb.* I. 712 '*ultrix tibi torua Megaera . . . aeterno premit accubitu*.'

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<sup>1</sup> This emendation has already been made by J. van Wageningen in his text of Manilius, published in 1915 in the Teubner series; but it

seemed desirable to publish the reasoning by which Mr. Owen has reached it independently. —EDD. C.Q.

## STATIVS AND THE DATE OF THE *CULEX*.

THE statement of Donatus (or Suetonius) that Vergil wrote the *Culex* at the age of sixteen (*cum esset annorum XVI.*) seems to be regarded by most scholars as too good to be true. It is a very long time since it was first suggested that *XXVI.* should be read for *XVI.*, and the proposal has not yet fallen from favour. The apparent justification of this view is found in a passage of Statius' *Genethliakon Lucani* (*Silvae* II. 7), where Calliope is represented as foretelling the literary achievements of Lucan. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine this supposed evidence.

In vv. 54-74 Calliope prophesies thus :

|                                            |    |
|--------------------------------------------|----|
| ac primum teneris adhuc in annis           |    |
| ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus          | 55 |
| et supplex Priami potentis aurum,          |    |
| et sedes reserabis inferorum.              |    |
| ingratus Nero dulcibus theatris            |    |
| et noster tibi proferetur Orpheus.         |    |
| dices culminibus Remi uagantis             | 60 |
| infandos domini nocentis ignis;            |    |
| hunc castae titulum decusque Pollae        |    |
| iucunda dabis adlocutione.                 |    |
| mox coepta generosior iuuenta              |    |
| albos ossibus Italis Philippos             | 65 |
| et Pharsalica bella detonabis,             |    |
| †quo fulmen† ducis inter arma diui,        |    |
| libertate grauem pia Catonem               |    |
| et gratum popularitate Magnum.             |    |
| tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi                 | 70 |
| deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta             |    |
| Pompeio dabis altius sepulchrum.           |    |
| haec primo iuuenis canes sub aevo          |    |
| ante annos Culicis Maroniani. <sup>1</sup> |    |

<sup>1</sup> I have given here the readings of the Oxford Text, save for one alteration which I have ventured to make in v. 62. For the MS. reading *huc* modern editors generally read *hinc*, which is due to an ancient 'corrector.' I cannot help thinking that Statius wrote *hunc* (*hoc* is also possible, but less idiomatic and less likely) : 'This thou shalt dedicate in a loving

address to chaste Polla, to be an honour and glory to her.' There is no reason, apart from our text, to suppose that Lucan wrote a work called *Adlocutio ad Pollam*. If the reading now suggested is correct, Lucan must have prefixed to his poem *De Incendio Urbis* some verses addressed to his wife, Argentaria Polla.



In the last two lines, according to the familiar interpretation, which is as old as Joseph Scaliger, Calliope states that Lucan will have written all the aforementioned works at an earlier age than that at which Vergil wrote the *Culex*. As Lucan died at the age of twenty-five, Vergil, we are told, must have been older than that when he composed the *Culex*, so 'sixteen' in the traditional text of Donatus must be emended to 'twenty-six.' An unprejudiced examination of Statius' words will, I believe, show us that there is no real ground for such a conclusion. This is all that I wish to prove; the general *Culex*-question I gladly leave to others.

The first thing that strikes one on reading vv. 54-74 is that Statius' Calliope, however useful she may have been as an inspirer of poetry, was not gifted with very remarkable prophetic powers. She begins by referring to a number of works which, according to her, Lucan will write in his childhood (*teneris in annis*). Among them (to mention only the most flagrant blunder) we find the *De Incendio Urbis*, which was written in the last year of the poet's life. The subject of this work was the great fire which broke out on June 18th, 64 A.D., little more than ten months before Lucan's death (April 30th, 65 A.D.). This monstrous error might with good reason be held to discredit the whole of the passage under discussion. But let us be generous; let us assume that Calliope's cunning improved with practice and that, while the account of the productions of the poet's childhood is patently absurd, the remainder of the prophecy is substantially correct. Such an assumption is not unreasonable. We may well suppose that Statius, in his desire to throw a halo round Lucan's *magnum opus*, the *De Bello Civili*, isolated it from the minor works by attributing these to the poet's childhood, and ignored or failed to notice the slough of absurdities into which he had plunged.

Having at last exhausted the stupendous catalogue of Lucan's childish compositions the Muse goes on to declare that with the nobler inspiration of early manhood (*coepta generosior iuuenta*) he shall sing of the events of the Civil War (vv. 64-72). After enumerating some of the chief items in this theme she adds the crucial words:

haec primo iuuenis canes sub aeuo  
ante annos Culicis Maroniani.

Some take *haec* to refer to all the subjects of Lucan's poetry which have been mentioned in Calliope's prophecy. This is quite without justification. The use of the word *iuuenis* rules out all the works said to have been composed *teneris in annis* and leaves us only the *De Bello Civili*, which is given as the one work of the poet's *iuuenta* (v. 64). But if we adopt the usual interpretation of *canes* it really does not matter how we interpret *haec*. It is almost incredible, but it is nevertheless true, that the idea that Statius believed Vergil to have been twenty-six years old when he wrote the *Culex* is founded on the assumption that *canes* means 'you shall have finished singing.' This is surely an arbitrary assumption, yet it is made, implicitly at least, in all discussions of the passage which are known to me. If we take *canes* in the sense 'you shall sing,' or 'you shall be singing,' the

old familiar arguments fall to the ground, and their downfall will be rendered all the more complete when we consider the natural meaning of *primo iuuenis sub aeuo*, an expression which, as I hope to show, could not be fittingly applied to a person so old as twenty-five, but is appropriately used of one who has but lately emerged from childhood. Genthe's careful study of Lucan's life makes it probable that the poet assumed the *toga uirilis* at the age of fifteen.

Vv. 73 sq. may be translated thus: 'Thou shalt be singing of these themes' (the events of the Civil War) 'even at the dawn of thy young manhood, before the age at which Maro wrote the *Culex*.' Statius had a double motive in composing the prophecy. While he wished to throw the *Bellum Ciuile* into high relief as the noblest and the most mature of Lucan's works, and thus antedates some of the others, he is particularly anxious throughout to emphasize the precociousness of the poet. In v. 73 he almost seems to fear that he has not made this prominent enough; moreover he knew that Lucan had once compared his early work with the *Culex*. Hence arose vv. 73, 74, which have caused so much mischief.

Part of the *Bellum Ciuile* was published some years before Lucan's death, and the poem bears abundant traces of having been recited in portions to more or less admiring audiences. Vacca's biography tells us that Lucan's declamation brought him into prominent notice before he discarded the *puerilis cultus*, i.e. assumed the *toga uirilis*. The beginning of Suetonius' biography is important: M. Annaeus Lucanus Cordubensis . . . prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus dedit quinquennali carmine. dein ciuile bellum, quod a Pompeio et Caesare gestum est, recitauit . . . ut praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere: 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem.'<sup>1</sup> The first sentence contains a not unnatural inaccuracy, which need not affect the present argument. The remainder of the quotation shows that according to Suetonius' information Lucan gave his first recitation of a part of the *Civil War* at a very early age; on that occasion, apparently, he prefaced some words which compared his own 'beginnings' (*initia*) with those of Vergil. Obviously a portion of the poem on the Civil War was, according to Suetonius, among Lucan's 'beginnings.' It is possible that the *Wunderkind* composed some parts of the poem about the age of fifteen, and it is possible also that when he made the famous reference to the *Culex* he believed that Vergil had written that work at the age of sixteen. There is nothing to show that Statius was not alluding to this age when he mentioned *annos Culicis Maroniani*, and, as we have seen, his words about Lucan's poem may even then be literally true; if there is any exaggeration, it must be very slight.

It should already, I think, be clear that Statius does not afford any ground

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius is thought to have taken these words to mean 'and yet how many years remain before I reach the age at which the *Culex* was composed!' This is surely an unnatural interpretation. It is much more likely that Lucan meant, 'and yet how far I

have to go before I reach the level of the *Culex*!' Suetonius' prejudice against the Annaei may have led him to put a malicious construction upon the words; but the text is very probably corrupt. I hope to return to this point later.

for altering Donatus' figure from XVI. to XXVI. It remains now to consider the meaning of *primo iuuenis sub aeuo*. *Primum aeuum*, except when definitely contrasted with *senectus* (Sen. *Oed.* 775) regularly means 'childhood'; cf. Ov. *F.* IV. 701 :

filius huius erat primo lascivus in aeuo,  
addideratque annos ad duo lustra duos.

In Ov. *Met.* III. 351 sq. we read that Narcissus was sixteen years old, *poteratque puer iuuenisque uideri*; when on the point of death, he exclaims *primo(que) exstinguor in aeuo*. On the meaning of *primo sub aeuo* much light is thrown by a passage of Valerius Flaccus (VII. 338 sqq.). Medea, fearing an early death, soliloquizes thus :

'occidis, heu ! primo (potes hoc durare ?) sub aeuo,  
nec tu lucis' ait 'nec uideris ulla iuuentae  
gaudia . . . ?'

If by perishing *primo sub aeuo* a person will miss all the *gaudia iuuentae*, we need have no doubt about the meaning of *primo sub aeuo*. We can gather, too, from other passages of Valerius Flaccus, that his Medea, like the Medea of Apollonius Rhodius, was a mere girl, at the very beginning of the marriageable age. It is obvious, then, that *primo sub aeuo* is naturally applied to a person at the very earliest stage of manhood or womanhood. As applied to a Roman youth it would mean 'shortly after assuming the *toga uiril*is.' It has already been mentioned that Lucan probably put on the garb of manhood at the age of fifteen. *Sub* with the Ablative in a temporal sense may mean either 'immediately after' ('still under the shadow of,' as it were) or 'at the time of.' The former is almost certainly the meaning in the above passage of Valerius Flaccus, for by so taking it we can give *primum aeuum* its natural meaning of 'childhood.' The meaning of the preposition as used by Statius is probably the same. It is just possible, however, to understand *iuuentae* (from *iuuenis*) with *aeuo* and to take *primo iuuenis sub aeuo* as meaning literally 'a young man in the earliest period of your young manhood.' But this interpretation, though much less probable than the other, is equally consistent with the view put forward in this paper. *Coepta iuuenta* (v. 64) also suggests that Lucan began to write of the Civil War in the earliest stage of official 'manhood.'

W. B. ANDERSON.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

### CRITERIA OF ETYMOLOGICAL REASONING: *ζαῖς*.

*To the Editors of the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY.*

SIRS,—In response to your request I have been excerpting for your Summaries the last—itself a summary—instalment of *Glotta*, VI. I find there so much belittling censure of my own studies that I am prompted to ask the privilege of a few words with your readers on the criteria of belief in etymology.

The principles of correct etymological investigation admit of a simple formulation: (1) to master, for each in its own tongue, the history, definition and usage of the actual words studied; (2) strictly to formulate by phonetic processes the correspondence of cognate words in the related tongues; (3) while doing both these things always to keep in mind the *apparent* derivation and definition of the words under study. One will further (4) have to keep one's eyes wide open for ancillary facts, and (5) his mind unbefogged by a prejudice in favour of any 'authorities' whatever. (6) The general criteria of consistency in reasoning are of course to be observed, to the best of the student's powers; and (7) he is always to base his speculations about the unseen (and, if we insist, invisible) upon the seen. (8) The reader will also remember, as the student in the first instance must realize, that there obtains in etymology, apart from word history, no legal or pettifogging proof beyond the proof that lies in probability. It is impossible strictly to prove the derivation of Lat. *factio* (or *facies*) from *facere*, or the cognation of *domus* with *δῶμος*, and equally impossible to disbelieve either.

The offence for which I am to be excommunicated or read out of the party (as we say in America) is my disposition to find composition where other investigators are content with the dogma and assertion of suffixation. My critics have this time cited examples of my sins against probability, and this enables me to appeal to a jury on the criteria of belief.<sup>1</sup> On p. 300 (*Glotta*, VI.) Kretschmer, who himself teaches composition for *αἰθοψ* and Lat. *ferox* (*Eiml.*, 160), pronounces 'somewhat adventurous' my explanation of *ἵππο-σύνη* as 'horse-driving' (-riding, horsemanship), with an appeal to Pindaric *ἵππο-σῶας* 'horse-driver.' Supposedly then he regards as less adventurous the assumption of identity between the alleged suffix *-σύνη* and Skr. *-tvandā-m*, an equation bristling with phonetic and accentual difficulties, and shattered by the further fact that *-σύνη* is characteristically attached to nouns, *-tvandām* to adjectives. As regards my further accounting for the spread of *-οσύνη* (not merely *-σύνη*) in Greek, the reader is asked merely to reconsider my picture of it in the light of Bréal's luminous discussion of irradiation in his *Sémantique*. Skutsch stood in his lifetime for the principle of accounting for a word first in its own tongue. This is the course I believe myself to have successfully pursued for *ἵππο-σύνη*: *ἵππο-σῶας*.

<sup>1</sup> The intelligence that admits composition in *ἀνδρό-μεος* (Brugmann, *Gr.* ii. 1, p. 13) and rejects it in Lat. *diu-tinus* (*ib.* § 197: *Kvg.* § 382, how-

ever profound, is inconsistent to the point of irrationality.

Without mention of my large documentation for tautological compounds, Felix Hartmann (p. 326) makes merry over the explanation of Lat. *ori-gen-* as 'start-birth' (KZ. XLV. 113). It were just as seemly to burst with cachinnation at the definition of *νεο-γνός* by 'new-born.' For *origen-* we have no word-history to help us, but the contrary assumption that *-gen-* is a mere suffix is still but an assumption, and no more excludes *ori-gen-* from analysis than Germ. *messer*—where word-history does put us right—is excluded from analysis as 'meat-saw.' To approach the inspection of a group of words having a common ending with the antecedent conviction that they all, with equal originality, possess a common suffix is not to follow a criterion of reason, but to put on blinkers. I am further lessoned that I weaken my case for *ori-gen-* as 'start-birth' by also suggesting *\*ori-(w)rigen-* 'start-root.' To which the reply is that the promotion of skepsis, and therefore of ultimate truth, in linguistics is a cause good enough to demand the service of an *advocatus diaboli*.

As regards Hoffmann's objection to my analysis of Lat. *funestus*, I call attention to a better representative for the derivation of the Latin words in *-estus -ustus*, viz. *robustus* (: O. Lat. *rōbus-*, :: Skr. *vayaḥ-stha-s* 'robustus': *vāyas-* 'robus'). The definition of *vayaḥ-sthas* as '(in) robore stans' is entirely beyond question (see PW<sup>1</sup>, vii. 1279-1280; 1318). The contrary explanation of *robustus* as *robōs-* expanded by a suffix *to*<sup>1</sup> is absolutely footless. Further cf. Lat. *scelestus* 'master of scelus' (epithet) with Skr. *apnaḥ-sthās* 'gutsherr.' Only after disproof of the definition of *imāgo* as 'impression in clay or wax' is one entitled to sneer at the derivation of *-māg-en-* from the root *māg* 'to mould in clay' (cf. Av. *māya-* 'shallow pit dug in the earth—? clay—about an altar,' perhaps cognate with Skr. *mahī*—aspirated root variant—'terra').

The apparent Latin suffix *-(o)lentus*, being of record in Latin alone, has perforce to be explained from Latin alone. No mere methodic pooh-pooh invalidates the inherent probability of the explanations of *opu-lentus* and *corpu-lentus* from *\*o[pī]-pollént <o>s* *\*cor[pī]-polléntos*. Further, since beside *uis* 'uiolentia' Latin had, was entitled at least to have, the unrelated reduplicated participle *ui-[u]olens* (: the root of Lat. *uello*, Goth. *wilwan* 'rapere'), a favourable condition for the conception of *-(o)lentus* as a suffix obtained (cf. *uiolentia*). I have not heard of anybody's offering to expel Wackernagel (or Kretschmer) from the company of the elect because of their suggestion or advocacy of composition in the Greek words in *-ώδης -āvής -οψ* (see references in Brugmann-Thumb, p. 193). I must say that I think very poorly myself of Hirt's bald identification of the *-es* stems with the alleged IE. noun *\*es* 'being.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mere inertia prevents the rectification of many linguistic dogmas. Recently, however, improvement has been made by analyzing *ἀρχι-στῆνος* as a compound (cf. *AJPh.* 37, 65<sup>2</sup>), instead of as a derivative of *ἀρχι-στον*, the latter itself a compound = 'prope-stans' (see *AJPh.* 33, 392; 34, 15). The derivation of IE. superlatives in *-istho-* from *is* [reduced grade of compv. in *(i)yes*] + *to* is the vaguest of glottogenic devices. Some years ago, when I explained the type of Skr. *mām̐h-i-sṭhas* as 'in-dando-stans,' I failed to discover its synonym *mām̐hane-sṭhā-s* 'liberalis-simus,' for which Grassmann long before had presented precisely the same analysis. Likewise Sāyana defined *vakṣane-sṭhā-s* in RV. by 'vahnau (loc.) sthitah,' i.e. precisely by 'in-sacrificando-stans' (note *vāhas* 'darbringung'; and interpret *vakṣane-sṭhās* by the synonymous Agni

epithet of *havir-vāt*, quasi 'libationem uehens'). And certainly *karmanī-sṭhā-s* means 'in re diuina stans.' The actuality of *i* in these infinitival and adverbial *priora*; of the aspiration in Skr. *-i-sṭh-* (cf. *ὄν λῶσθός*, *AJPh.* 37, 68); of the formation in *-sṭhā-*, parallel to *sṭha-*; of the ancient definition of Sāyana, possibly backed by tradition and certainly informed with a feeling for his own tongue and its literature: all this evidence of fact is to be ignored because of inert acquiescence in a hypothetical conglomerate suffix *is + to*.

<sup>2</sup> The copula *est* was a mere demonstrative, and meant 'here by him' (cf. Chinook paradigms in Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, p. 618; reprinted in *Bull. Univ. of Texas*, No. 263, § 47). In fact, IE. *esmi* 'sum' is identical with the IE. locative *esmi* 'here' (ego-deictic; cf. Ital. *ecco mi*, and see *Bull.* § 46).



A last point on which Hartmann (p. 317) censures me is in regard to the text of Lucilius' *ei/i* rule. Marx (vers. 358 sq.) and Goetz and Schoell (in their *Varro*, p. 207) write *m<e>ille* and *m<e>iles*. I have followed them. These competent Latinists insert *e* with no thought of etymology even in the back of their heads, but solely because, supposing Lucilius to have written Latin in a correct and usual way, in the words *item huc* '*e*' *utroque opus*, *item* throws backward on *mille* and *huc* looks forward to *miles*. No other reading would ever receive a moment's consideration from a Latinist who was not trying to extract from Lucilius evidence for some preconceived theory (see also *AJPh.* 34. 497 sq.); and then the extraction of a different meaning can only be accomplished by a devious resort to conjectural emendations.

The reader may observe how ineluctable is the charm of the recondite and *recherché* formula in empiric phonetics if he will but look at the derivation of ζανίδες (= ἡγεμονίδες, Hesychius), as lately suggested in this *Quarterly* (IX. 247). Instead of having in ζανίς a possible instance of common Greek ξ- from IE. *z-*, we rather have (as in ζέρεθρον 'βάραθρον' and ξέλλω 'βαλλω') a certain instance of (Arcado-Cyprian) ξ- from IE. *g<sup>w</sup>-*. The cognates of ζανίς are βανᾶ, γυνή and Eng. *queen*; Skr. *jānī-s* 'consort' and gnā 'consort' (of a god).

EDWIN W. FAY.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,  
November 13, 1915.

#### NOTE ON HERONDAS.

IN his edition of this author Buecheler translates the words of *Mim.* III. 72 *πρός σε τῆς κοττίδος ψυχῆς* by 'per capitale tuum ingenium,' but affords no explanation as to how he arrived at this sense. May I suggest another interpretation to which Modern Greek seems to me to lead? The equivalent of *κοττίς* is now *πουλί* or *πουλάκι*, and *πουλί μου* or *πουλάκι μου*, or simply *πουλάκι* = 'my little birdie,' i.e. 'my darling,' is the most frequent endearing term of the Greeks. See Vlachos's *Δεξικὸν Ἑλληνογαλλικὸν* v. *πουλί*. 'πουλί μου! mon chéri, mon amour, ma poulette.' Therefore, *πρός σε τῆς κοττίδος ψυχῆς*, I fancy, means, 'I implore thee by thy darling soul.' The expression seems to have come down to us intact in sense, and only altered in so far as new words have been substituted for the obsolete ones. Of such a phenomenon I have given several curious examples in my *Notes on the Gospels*.

I may cite another passage where Modern Greek is helpful.

In *Mim.* I. 5 Gyllis asks Thressa, Metricha's slave-girl, to announce her to her mistress. Then follows the word *κάλει* = 'call her,' which seems superfluous after *ἄγγελον*. Besides, after *κάλει* there follows Metricha's question *τίς ἐστιν* as though a call had preceded, whereas there had preceded no such call. If, however, we write *καλή*, we obtain this call, the girl addressing her mistress by a respectful term, i.e. 'my good one.' This term is, or at any rate was until very recent times, in use in Greece. In my young days, when ways in that country were simpler than they are now, many wives, especially among the simpler classes, out of respect used to address their husbands as *καλὲ* instead of by their names. Perhaps the term is still alive, but I have not heard it for some years, nor have I ever heard it in the feminine.

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## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

#### **American Journal of Philology.** XXXVII. 1. 1916.

G. M. Bolling, *The Latest Expansions of the Iliad*. Examines in minute detail the contents of the manuscript and papyrus vulgates of the *Iliad*. Concludes that 'the papyri and the manuscripts are all descendants from a text of the *Iliad*, which about the middle of the second century before our era consisted of some 15,600 lines' (the printed texts recognize 15,693). 'This vulgate agreed, so far as we know, line for line with the edition of Aristarchus.' Lines such as *Il.* 2. 558, (wrongly supposed to be attested by Aristotle), are post-Aristarchean interpolations. W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Grammarians of the Empire*. A discursive article on the grammatical treatises in Keil's collection. The object of these writings is 'to satisfy the requirements of pupils in Universities and Schools.' In using them we have to keep in mind their habit of repetition, and before accepting a statement to compare it with what is said elsewhere; and, secondly, always to reckon with the probability that its origin is Greek. H. N. Sanders, *à v with the Future*. I. *The occurrences in Plato*. Examines these in succession, and would show that in the majority of instances Plato uses the construction 'in ethos,' the suggestion of a solecism being intentional. The feeling upon which Plato plays that the use was objectionable was due to a growing interest in grammar in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. The feeling was short-lived, but was revived by Lucian and other late purists. E. W. Fay, *Pro Domo Mea*. Compressed and allusive notes on morphological matters previously discussed by the writer, on the hypothesis that suffixation is the outgrowth of composition. Part I. *A. Dealing with the Superlative-Ordinal Group of Formations*. W. P. Mustard, *Echoes of Calpurnius and Nemesianus*. A collection of parallels from the Neo-Latin poetry of the Renaissance.

#### XXXVII. 2. 1916.

K. F. Smith, *Notes on Tibullus*. The paucity and inferiority of the modern imitations of Tibullus is due to the fact that he deals with traditional motives and is not a man of striking phrases. A number of parallels and quotations are adduced from neo-Latin, Italian, French and English writers, including Dr. Johnson. E. W. Fay, *Pro Domo Mea* (concluded). *B. Dealing with the Nasal Verb Flexion and C. with the -d /-dh root extensions*. Walter Petersen, *Origin of the Indo-European Nominal Stem-suffixes*. Part I. Contests the theory that I.E. suffixes arose mainly by composition. Observes that the suffixes which, like the Germanic *-lika* (G. *-lich*, Eng. *-ly*) can be proved to have been once separate words, show a widening of their sense, but that this cannot be traced in the rest, in which the special meaning is the later one: *ko* e.g. was in the beginning a meaningless suffix and to a large extent continued meaningless. The less common suffixes also, e.g. *-mi* and *-dhro*, present the same features. The special meaning that we attach to the suffix was a gradual development from the entire situation in which a word was placed. D. B. Durham *Mimnermus and Propertius*. Argues against Wilamowitz's view that Propertius, in his *Cynthia* (I.) closely imitated Mimnermus; there is more to be said for the theory that he imitated Philetas, which W. rejects. F. G. Moore on Caesar *B.G.* V. 16. 3. Would take 'et cedentibus et insequentibus' substantively 'retreaters . . . pursuers.'

**Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.** 1916.

Apr. 1. F. Schuchardt, *De Graecorum versibus quorum membra ambitu increscant commentatio metrica* (Berndt). J. Martha, *La langue étrusque* (Herbig). P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus* (B. A. Müller). The author's knowledge of his period is remarkable.

Apr. 8. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*. Rec. R. F. Vol. VIII. Progymnasmata. Argumenta orationum Demosthenicarum (Schenkl). A well edited text. W. A. Oldfather and H. V. Canter, *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus* (Sadée). The authors maintain that Augustus never wanted to extend the frontier to the Elbe and that the defeat of Varus did not have the important results generally attributed to it. The reviewer discusses the matter fully and concludes that the writers have not made out their case.

Apr. 15. P. V. Neugebauer, *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie*. II.: Tafeln für Sonne, Planeten und Mond nebst Tafeln der Mondphasen für die Zeit 4000 vor Chr. bis 3000 nach Chr. (Boll). Part I. was reviewed on Jan. 4, 1913. Part III. will complete a useful work.

Apr. 22. E. Drerup, *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias*. Grundlagen einer homerischen Poetik (Paul Cauer). The reviewer criticizes the book (published in 1913) at great length in this and the three following numbers.

Apr. 29. Autenrieth's *Schulwörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten*. 12. Auflage bes. von A. Kaegi. Mit 31 Tafeln, 2 Karten und erklärendem Text von H. Blümner (J. Ziehen). The illustrations, which are now collected at the end, will be useful to the archaeologist, but the school-boy will not always know how to interpret them. R. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*. Eine Studie. Mit 132 Abbildungen (v. Behr). An architect's work based on the study of the remains of 33 Greek or Roman theatres and of ancient pictures of theatre scenes. S. Frankfurter, *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums*. We quote a few lines from the notice of a lecture delivered at the meeting held in June 1915 by A. von Berzeviczy, President of the Hungarian 'Akademie der Wissenschaften.' The subject was: Humanism and the World War. 'B. emphasized with impressive words and convincing reasoning the necessity of humanism in opposition to nationalism run mad, which has in the end set fire to the world. In the future less than ever shall we be able to dispense with an idealism based upon the study of the antique in Life and Art, in the workshop and in Science.'

May 6. E. Bickel, *In Senecae philosophi fragmenta*. Vol. I.: *Fragmenta de matrimonio* (Philippson). An interesting book (438 pp.), the object of which is to identify in Jerome's writings fragments of Seneca's lost work. W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. Unter Mitwirkung von O. Stählin bearb. von W. Schmid. 5. Aufl. II., 2: Von 100 bis 530 nach Chr. (K. F. W. Schmidt). Practically a new book, not a mere 'Repertorium' but a history of literature. Stählin has treated the Christian writers much more fully.

May 13. Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci*. Quartis curis rec. Th. B. (Sitzler). To this reprint of Parts II. and III. of the edition of 1882 have been added useful Indices by J. Rubenbauer. F. Toebelmann, *Der Bogen von Malborghetto*. Mit 1 Bildnis, 25 Tafeln und 7 Textabbildungen (v. Behr). A thorough study by an architect of the remains of a monument near the Ponte Molle now incorporated in some farm-buildings and not generally known. The writer shows reason to believe that it was a triumphal arch set up to commemorate the victory of Constantine over Maxentius at Saxa Rubra in 312.

May 20. Ch. Favre, *Thesaurus verborum quae in titulis Ionicis leguntur cum Herodoteo sermone comparatus* (Bannier). A lengthy review, discussing the interpreta-



tion of a number of passages in the Inscriptions. (1) O. Crusius, *Herondae Mimiambi*, ed. V. by O. C. (2) E. Rostrup, *Oxyrhynchos Papyri* III. 413 (Preisendanz). (1) The new edition has 20 more pages. (2) Contains (a) the *Χαρίτιον* and (b) *Μοιχεύτρια* with French translation and photographs (which do not however show the signs clearly). R. thinks that we have in (a) the rôle of the person responsible for the music, quoting only such words of the actors as would give him his cue. This explains the gaps in the sense. In (b) we have an actor's copy giving only certain lines to help him in learning the part of the *κνρία*. P. Jahn, *Vergils Gedichte*. Erkl. von Ladewig, Schaper und Deuticke. I. *Bucolica und Georgica*. 9. Aufl., bearb. von P. J. (Tolkiehn). F. Stolle, *Der römische Legionar und sein Gepäck* (Lammert). Includes an interpretation of *Apoc.* VI. 6. K. Erbacher, *Griechisches Schuhwerk* (Dehn). An enquiry on antiquarian lines.

May 27. A. Olivieri, *Philodemi Περὶ παρησίας libellus*, ed. A. O. (Philippson). Incomplete and too dependent on the Naples edition. The reviewer contributes a number of suggestions for the restoration of the text. Vil. Lundström, *Eranos: Acta philologica Suecana*, ed. curavit V. L., Vol. XIV. (Heraeus). A summary of the papers with some criticism.

June 3. G. Hellmann, *Über die ägyptischen Witterungsangaben im Kalender von Claudius Ptolemäus*. Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. (Boll). E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* I. 3 Abdruck (K. F.). A reprint of the original edition; 22 pp. of new matter are added at the end. L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Anfange der Völkerwanderung* II. 3 (G. Wolff). This section treats of the history of the Suebi and the Chatti. Good use is made of the archaeological evidence.

June 10. P. Hamberger, *Die rednerische Disposition in der alten τέχνη ῥητορική* (Korax-Gorgias-Antiphon) (Lehnert). These studies throw fresh light on the beginnings of the art. C. Zander, *Eurythmia Ciceronis* (Ammon). N. Terzaghi, *Fabula. Prolegomena allo studio del Teatro Antico*. Vol. I.: *Questioni Teatrali* (K. Fr. W. Schmidt). Careful studies of a number of questions, e.g. the double names of plays, such as *Αἰλητρὶς ἢ Δίδυμοι*. P. E. More, *The Paradox of Oxford* (Kraemer). An interesting notice of an article in the *School Review* which advocates 'a return, if possible, to pure classical tradition and discipline.'

June 17. P. Rabbow, *Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung auf ihre Quellen untersucht*. I. *Die Therapie des Zorns* (Wilke). Discusses the sources of Sen. *De ira*, Plut. *περὶ ἀπορησίας*, Cic. *Tusc.* III. R. Berndt, *Die Fragmente des Homer-erklävers Herakleon* (Eberhard). A. Stiefenhofer, *Die Echtheitsfrage der biographischen Synkriseis Plutarchs* (Berndt). H. Pistorius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im 4. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Lenschau). Includes a study of the numerous inscriptions and a number of excursus on the history of the period. *Der Obergermanisch-rätische Limes des Römerreiches* (G. Wolff).

July 1 (Double Number). H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cauer). A long and interesting review continued in the next number. G. de Budé, *Dionis Chrysostomi orationes*, post L. Dindorfium ed. G. de B. (v. Arnim). Teubner text with brief app. crit. at the foot of the page. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria*. Div. II. III. A 4. 5. B 5 (Hiller von Gaertringen). The review includes a suggested restoration (in which U. v. Wilamowitz has had a hand) of *Inscr.* 588.

July 8. J. Köhm contributes a paper entitled *Quisquis, quamquam usw.*

July 15. H. Collitz und O. Hoffmann, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*, IV. 4. 3 (Larfeld). This completes the work.

July 22. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. Ed. 3. Vol. I. (Bannier). The new edition, which contains many new inscriptions, has been



prepared by Pomtow (Delphian), Kirchner (Attic), Ziebarth (Euboean), Hiller v. Gaertringen (other inscriptions). A long review continued in the next number discusses the interpretation of many passages. G. Bergsträsser, *Pseudo-Galenii in Hippocratis de septimanis commentarium* ab Hunaino q. f. arabice uersum ex codice Monacensi primum ed. et germanice uertit G. B. (Kind). H. E. Butler and A. S. Owen, *Apulei Apologia* with introduction, etc. (Rossbach). An industrious and thorough piece of work. A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter römischer Herrschaft* (Gelzer). The writer is an antiquarian rather than a historian.

July 29. H. Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (Schwyzer). 'In many ways stimulating.'

### Classical Philology. XI. 2. 1916.

H. W. Prescott, *The Interpretation of Roman Comedy*. Demurs to the prevalent theory that the later Hellenistic comedy from which the plays of Plautus and Terence are derived was profoundly influenced by the Euripidean tragedy, and urges that the inequalities and inconcinnities in certain comedies, e.g. the *Rudens*, *Persa*, *Stichus* and *Mostellaria*, are not necessarily to be attributed to 'contamination' of several Greek originals or to 'retractation' but may be explained as due to the exigencies of the plot. John A. Scott, *Assumed Contradictions in the Seasons of the Odyssey*. Astronomical and other data are satisfied by placing the action of the *Odyssey* in the forty days from Oct. 5 to Nov. 2. M. B. Ogle, *Horace an Atticist*. S. I. 10 is not an 'Atticist' attack on the 'Asiatic' school including Lucilius, but a defence of Horace's own practice in writing *sermones* in a milder vein than the unsparing invective of Lucilius, Catullus and Calvus. W. D. Briggs gives the classical source-material for B. Jonson's *Epigrams* and *Forest*. R. J. Bonner contributes notes on public and private arbitration at Athens. C. W. Keyes redates the list of Roman provinces called the *Laterculus Veronensis* as 304-314 A.D. E. H. Sturtevant argues that *-ol-* changed to *-ul-* (except after *u*) before Plautus. Spellings like *uolt*, *adicio*, originally correct, remained in use after the pronunciation had become *uu*, *ii*. F. A. Wood, *Latin Etymologies*: *hebeo* (cf. 'give,' 'geben'), *helluor*, *honos*, *infans* (two words 1. 'embryo' *ἐμφυσις*: *bhegā* 'grow,' 2. 'speechless'), *ludus*, *luscus*, *patrare* (cf. 'to further') *uadum*, *uadere*. P. Shorey would read *δυνάτος* for *ἀδύνατος* in Plato *Laws* 795 B.

### XI. 3. 1916.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Horace and Valerius Cato*. Maintains the Horatian authorship of the lines prefixed in some MSS. to S. I. 10, forming an exordium afterwards deleted by Horace himself. The *peruincam* of v. 2 is to be understood of the verbal quibble in *mendo-sus*—*emendare*. The *qui* of v. 5 is the poet himself. W. M. Lindsay, *A new Clue to the emendation of Latin Poets*. The clue is the use of ancient Notae or abbreviations of words which are attested in a Vatican MS. (Pal. Lat. 1753) of Marius Victorinus (Photograph of a page). F. E. Robbins, *The Lot Oracle at Delphi* (with two illustrations), inter alia, interprets an obscure cylix painting on which 'Themis' and Aegeus appear, the former holding a phiale, by the suggestion that she is reading lots. L. C. Webb, *The cost of living in Roman Egypt*. Economic statistics, chiefly in tabular form, taken from the papyri, on the value of money, rates of wages and prices of commodities during the first seven centuries of the Christian era. R. W. Husband, *On the Expulsion of Foreigners from Rome*. A historical résumé. In some cases the expulsion was due to alien usurpation of the rights of citizens, and its object the purification of the roll of burgesses. The same was the object of the *lex Papia*, under which Archias and Balbus were prosecuted. Notes on *Iouis incrementum*, *Ciris* 398 and Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 49, 'offspring of Jupiter' by Tenney Frank, and

on Pers. 4. 165-6 'udas ante fores' 'deluged by water from the windows' by G. C. Fiske. G. A. Harrer conjectures that Arrian was transferred from the governorship of Cappadocia to that of Syria in 137. E. T. M. has a note on the exercise of imagination demanded from the audience in Plaut. *Amphitr.* 551 sqq.

**Classical Weekly (New York). 1916.**

April 1. A. Baldwin, *The Electrum Coinage of Lampsakos* (G. F. Hill). 'It is only by such patient work on die-varieties and similar minutiae that the arrangement of apparently uniform series can be made out.'

April 29. Gilbert Murray, *The Stoic Philosophy: Conway Memorial Lecture* (J. W. Hewitt). 'It has the literary charm that characterizes everything Prof. Murray writes and it gives an excellent glimpse into the heart and essence of the Stoic Philosophy.'

May 13. H. D. Naylor, (1) *Latin and English Idiom*, (2) *More Latin and English Idiom* (F. H. Fowler). 'The general plan of the books and, for the most part, the detailed carrying out of the plan are to be highly commended. We should have something of this sort for every author read in Secondary Schools. . . . But many teachers will feel compelled to rewrite Prof. Naylor's syntactical notes.'

May 20. A. H. Weston, *Latin Satirical Writing Subsequent to Juvenal* (D. A. Penick). The purpose of the work is 'to call attention to some of the satirical writing of this later period, to show what forms it took, what subjects it dealt with, and the nature of its treatment of those subjects.'

**Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1916.**

April 1. J. M. Hoogvliet, *Die sogenannten 'Geschlechter' im Indo-Europäischen und im Latein* (Herbig). The critic, leaving the pseudo-philosophical schematism of the author, suggests the following general sketch of the development of grammatical gender in Indo-European languages: -o and -ā adjective forms were originally used to indicate correspondence with -o and -ā noun forms; the pronouns *so* and *sā* were originally so used, but afterwards differentiated with the meanings 'he' and 'she': the same difference was then transferred to -o and -ā nouns where sex-difference was possible; the -o and -ā adjectives were next used in association with other nouns according to their sex; and lastly the whole mass of nouns, by schematism and analogy, was drawn into the system.

April 8. H. Philipp, *Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (Riese).

April 29. S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Heisenberg). The book does not correspond precisely to its title, but gives us a much-needed description of all the elements in Byzantine speech which are not antique but yet won themselves a place in literary prose.

May 6. M. Banescu, *Die Entwicklung des griechischen Futurums bis zur Gegenwart* (Hatzidakis).

May 20. H. Reich, *Von der Zukunft des deutschen nationalen Erziehungs-staates und Platons Politeia*. I. The writer gives a full account of the opening and work of the *Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht* in Berlin, with summaries of lectures delivered during last winter. Two educational parties appear, each aiming at a new German Renaissance: but whilst one holds to the humanistic ideal, the other looks for a closer assimilation to the Prussian political organisation. Fr. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs und Optativs in den griechischen Dialekten*. I. (Debrunner). Many objections are made.

May 27. *Vergils Gedichte*, erkl. von Ladewig, etc.: 9th edition by P. Jahn (Helm). The chronology adopted is questioned.

June 3. W. Amelung, *Dramen des Sophokles*. I. (Geffcken). The introduction



and translation are praised. E. Pieske, *De titulorum Africae Latinorum sermone quaestiones morphologicae* (Landgraf). A careful work.

June 10. J. v. Wageningen, *Manilii Astronomica* (Kraemer). Praised.

June 17. A. Stiefenhofer, *Die Echtheitsfrage der biographischen Synkrisis Plutarchs*.

July 1. E. Drerup, *Homer* (Waser). A beautiful book. H. Roese, *De Ovidii Heroidum codice Gissensi*. Careful.

July 8. C. F. G. Heinrici, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher und Verwandtes aus Sammelhandschriften* (Heisenberg). Generally praised, but the treatment of the texts is inadequate. Th. Birt, *Novellen und Legenden aus verklungenen Zeiten* (Morsch). The stories are vividly told.

July 15. A. Olivieri, *Philodemi Περὶ παρρησίας libellus*, ed. A. O. (Wilke). Leaves much to be desired. L. Volkmann, *T. Lucretius Carus, der Jünger Epikurs*.

### Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1916. I.-III.

Gillis P:son (sic!), *Wetter*, Φῶς (Nilsson). A beautiful book. Skenika: (i.) Marg. Bieber, *Kuchenform mit Tragödienszene* (Robert). Highly interesting. (ii.) A. Brückner, *Maske aus dem Kerameikos* (Robert). The subject is carefully treated.

### Hermes. LI. 3. 1916.

Chr. Tensen, *Zu den Demen des Eupolis*. Gives a full description of three papyrus-leaves found in 1905-1907 with the conjectures already proposed; then attempts a reconstruction of the three fragments, with the result that all belong to the second part of the document. The first leaf contains the conclusion of the parabasis, the second follows immediately upon it, and the third probably contains an episode from the appearance of Aristeides. H. Dessau, *Über die Quellen unseres Wissens vom zweiten punischen Krieg*. I. Blunders of Polybius in his arrangement of the events are explained by reference to his sources: the insertion of Spanish occurrences amongst Italian of the year 217 B.C. is traced to Fabius Pictor. Polybius III. 85. 7 is a shortened extract from Livy XXII. 7. 6; the curious *πλύνουσαι ταῖς κόμαις* in Polyb. IX. 6. 3 is due to a misunderstanding of Livy XXVI. 9. 7 'crinibus passis aras uerrentes.' II. Neither Polybius nor Livy are influenced by any pro-Carthaginian source. Both Silenos and Sosylos soon quitted Hannibal, and their fragments indicate an anti-Karthaginian tone. O. Weinrich, *Zum römischen Satire*. I. The source of Livy VII. 2 is not that of Horace *Epist.* II. 1. 139 sqq. Horace follows a pre-Varronian chronology; Livy has probably drawn from Varro. II. The arrangement of Horace *Satires* II. H. Blümner, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Plutarch's Moralia*. E. v. Stern, *Zur Wertung der pseudo-aristotelischen zweiten Oekonomik*. Criticizes the attempt of K. Riezler to explain the document as a catechism for the Finance of the ancient Polis. B. Keil, *Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλεμος*. Discusses A. Elber's paper *Thukydides und der Name des peloponnesischen Krieges* (*Neue Jahrbücher* XVIII., pp. 77 sqq.). B. Keil, *Textkritisches zu den Hellenica Oxyrhynchica*. G. Herbig, *Tyro und Flere*. Examines the Etruscan word *flere* on a bronze mirror (CIL. 1069) in connexion with other forms from the same root, and reaches the development *fler* 'hard metal,' 'bronze,' 'bronze-statue,' 'iron.' MISZELLEN: G. Klaffenbach, *Sisennas Statthalterschaft von Makedonien*. F. Jacoby, *Herodotinterpolation aus Ἀδιακά*. Fr. Groh, *Zum athenischen Psephisma über Salamis*. W. Kolbe, *Zum Dekret über Chalkis*. A. Kern, *Poseidon Τεμενοῦχος*.

### Mnemosyne. XLIV. 3. July, 1916.

J. J. Hartman on Juvenal 1. 108 (si . . . custodit . . . *conductas* Coruinus oues) argues in favour of an emendation *conductus* made by him twenty-three years ago, on the ground that *conductas oues* can mean nothing but *hired sheep*, a meaning precluded by the context. Mayor explains the passage, 'feeds a stranger's sheep for hire,'



citing certain passages in the *Digests*. These, H. holds, he has misinterpreted. To obtain Mayor's sense *conducit oues pascendas* would be required. W. Vollgraff, continuing his *Nouae Inscriptiones Argivae*, gives a long inscription discovered in August, 1906, recording the gift of a golden crown to the Rhodians for having lent the Argives 100 talents without interest. The forms of the letters point to a date between 300 and 225 B.C. Historical considerations allow a choice of the dates 278-272, 258-250, 249-244, during which years the Argives and Rhodians were on the same side in Greek politics. V. adds some notes in elucidation of the inscription. J. C. Naber, *Observatiunculae de Iure Romano—De Nilo Censitore*, Part III., continues his study, in the light of recently discovered papyri, of the survey and valuation of landed property in Egypt. H. D. Verdam attempts to discover the chronological order of the Platonic dialogues (so far as it is still disputed) by comparing pairs of dialogues, and asking (when the same subject is discussed) in which of the two we find either new opinions expressed, or a more complete and developed expression of opinions already adumbrated. J. J. Hartman, *De Ludo de Morte Claudii*, argues (1) that a Roman would see nothing discreditable in the composition of such a 'skit' by one who, like Seneca in his *Consolatio ad Polybium*, had already indulged in effusive flattery of the emperor: (2) that our extant piece is *not* the 'Ἀποκολοκύντωσις mentioned by Dion Cassius. There is nothing about 'pumpkinification' in our piece, nor is it likely that anything of the kind was contained in the missing portion: (3) that nevertheless it is undoubtedly the work of Seneca. H. adds some critical notes on the piece. P. Groeneboom, *Varia*, contributes short critical notes on various passages in the Greek poets from Sophocles to Herondas. The number also contains short notes on Tac. *Ann.* IV. 1 and Clement Alex. *Protrept.* 119.

**Revue de Philologie.** XXXIX. 4. 1915.

R. Cahen, *Euripides Iph.* in Aul. 1079. A. Cartault, *Horace Sat.* i. 1. 61. F. Cumont, (i.) Marciana Silva in Ammianus Marc. xxi. 8. 2 is the same as the Greek 'Ερκυνία ὕλη, and is probably a corruption of it through the form 'Αρκύνιος. (ii.) *L'ère Byzantine et Théophile d'Édesse*. REVIEW: Διαδόχου Ἐπισκόπου Φωτικῆς τῆς Ἡπείρου τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ κεφάλαια γνωστικὰ ρ' by J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, 1912 (P. Collomp). Unfavourable. *Revue des Revues* et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. Fascicules parus en 1916.

**Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica.** XLIV. 3. 1916.

V. Costanzi, *The Tyranny of the Orthagoridae in the light of a new document*. Discusses the succession and chronology of the Orthagorid dynasty at Sicyon, employing the new fragment on the history of Sicyon (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI. No. 1365), which however gives little help. Concludes, though diffidently, that Orthagoras was not one of the line of tyrants, but the eponymous ancestor of the clan. A. Rostagni, *Equos Troianus*. Emphasizes the debt of early Roman Tragedy and Comedy to Hellenistic, as opposed to Hellenic, models; thus the prototype of the *Equus Troianus* of Livius Andronicus is to be found in an Alexandrine tragedy mentioned by Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* V. 137). M. L. de Gubernatis, *Quaestiunculae Probianae II*. The friend of Aulus Gellius (I. 7. 4), who argued, probably wrongly, for the reading 'in potestatem fuisse' in Cic. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* XII. 33, should not be identified with Probus, as is done by Aistermann, but with some grammarian of the school of Fronto. F. Nencini, *Herondas IV.* 75. Interprets θεῶν ψάειν as meaning 'to equal or rival the gods,' a sense in which it is found twice in Synesius. Cf. also οὐρανοῦ ψάειν in Plut. *Demetr.* I. 898 sq. G. Corradi, *The end of the reign of Seleucus Nicator.* II. Continues the history of Seleucus from the battle of Korupedion to his death. E. de Marchi, *Notes on the Culex*. In l. 245 for the MS. 'siblite' proposes 'sub Dite,' and reads 'otia quaerentes frustra sub Dite puellae.' In l. 264

proposes 'busta' for 'cura.' H. Moricca, *Lucretiana*. Analyzes minutely the argument of Bk. II. with a view to determining the reading in II. 166-7, which is pronounced to be 'nec persectari primordia singula quaeque ut uideas quae quicque geratur cum ratione,' where 'est' should be given the sense of 'licet,' 'conceditur.'

### Wochenschrift der klassische Philologie. 1916.

May 8. H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer* (Iw. Müller's *Handbuch*, IV. 2. 2), 3 Ed. (E. Lommatzsch). 'An entirely new book.' H. A. Sanders, *The Washington manuscript of the Four Gospels* (Stählin). Carefully written.

May 15. W. Aly, *Hesiod's Theogonie*, mit Einl. u. Komm. von W. A. (Sitzler). Approved generally. F. Schoell, *M. T. Ciceronis Orat. in M. Antonium Philippicae XIV.*, rec. F. S. (Busche). Excellent work, which will be the leading authority for long.

May 22. Max Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (Fries). Pleasantly written, but without new results.

May 29. E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (Berndt). Rich contents. J. Sajdak, *Meletemata patristica* (Dräseke). Praised.

June 5. F. Rittelmeyer, *Thukydides und die Sophistik* (Nestle). The chief results claim appreciation.

June 12. H. W. Litchfield, *National exempla uirtutis in Roman literature* (Harder). Careful and interesting.

June 19. A. W. Persson, *Zur Textgeschichte Xenophons* (Vollbrecht). Very successful. H. J. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. IV. The Aphrodito papyri (Karl Schmidt). A model production.

June 26. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aeschyli tragoediae* ed. U. v. W.-M., and *Aeschylos, Interpretationen* von U. v. W.-M. (Sitzler). Combines all the elements needed for building a sure foundation. P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaemonier* (Cauer). Very welcome. E. S. Duckett, *Studies in Ennius* (Tolkiehn). Too many unsupported hypotheses.

July 3. E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Goessler). Opens up rich vistas. J. W. Cohson, *Rhetorical studies in the Arbitration scene of Menander's Epitrepontes* (Fincké).

July 10. K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (Nestle). Reaches new and surprising results. L. R. Dean, *A study of the cognomina of soldiers in the Roman legion* (Bacherler). The material has not been studied with sufficient thoroughness.

July 17. K. Preisendanz, *Zu Seneca Herc. fur.*

July 24 (double number). H. Fränkel, *De Simia Rhodio* (β). A collection of fragments, showing care and judgment. H. v. Arnim, *Ein altgriechisches Königsideal*. Plato's *Politikos* is a grand memorial of friendship with Dion, not Dionysios.

August 5. R. Koebner, *Venantius Fortunatus* (Hosius). An attractive picture, tastefully disposed.

August 14 (double number). L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* (2980-2475 B.C.) (Wiedemann). Fills an important gap. F. Kraus, *Die Formeln des griechischen Testaments* (Wessely). This unpretentious dissertation contains a crowd of important results.

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WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, Lord Cromer has founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

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Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'



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